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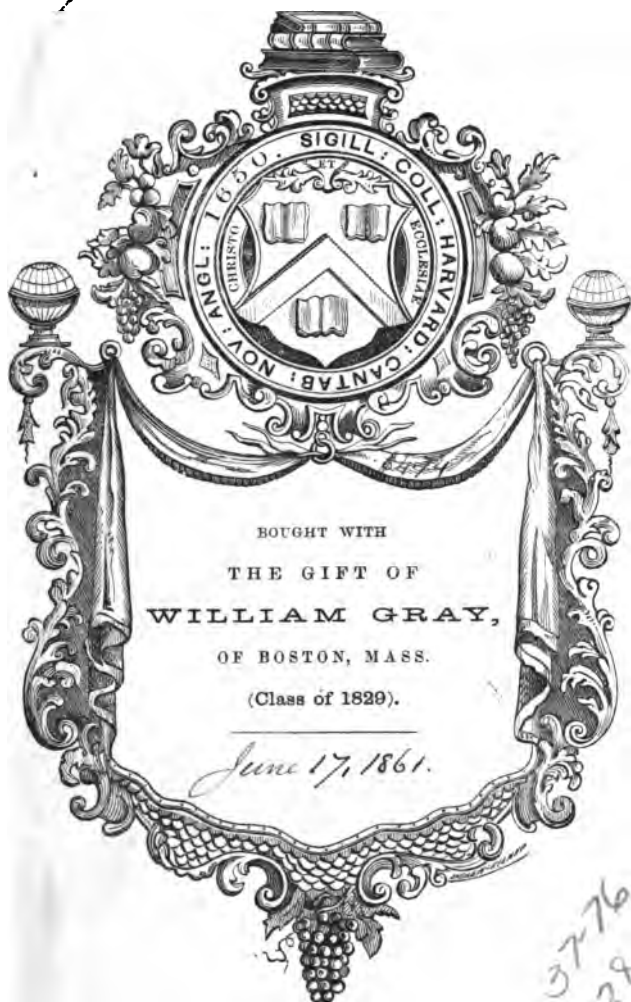
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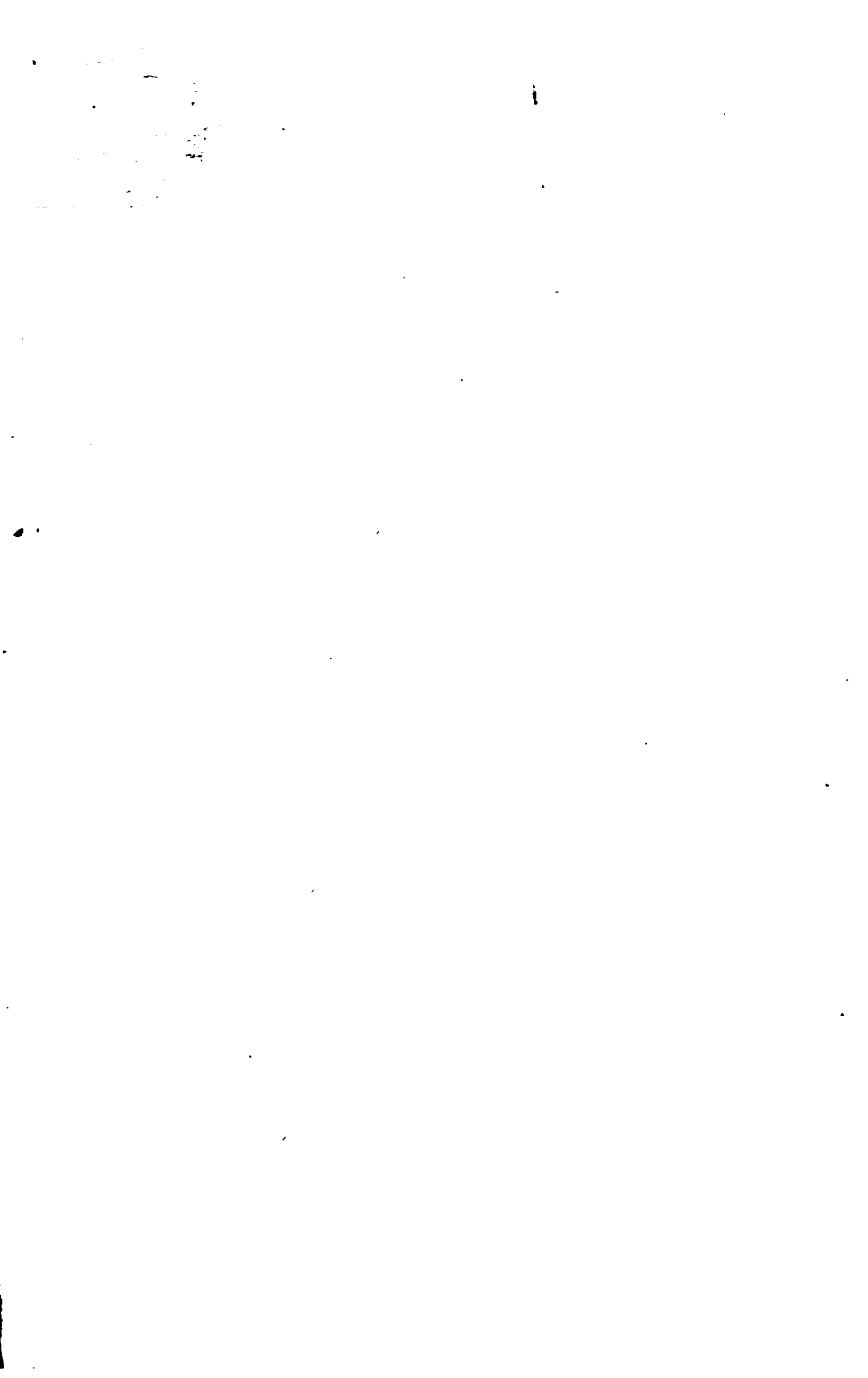
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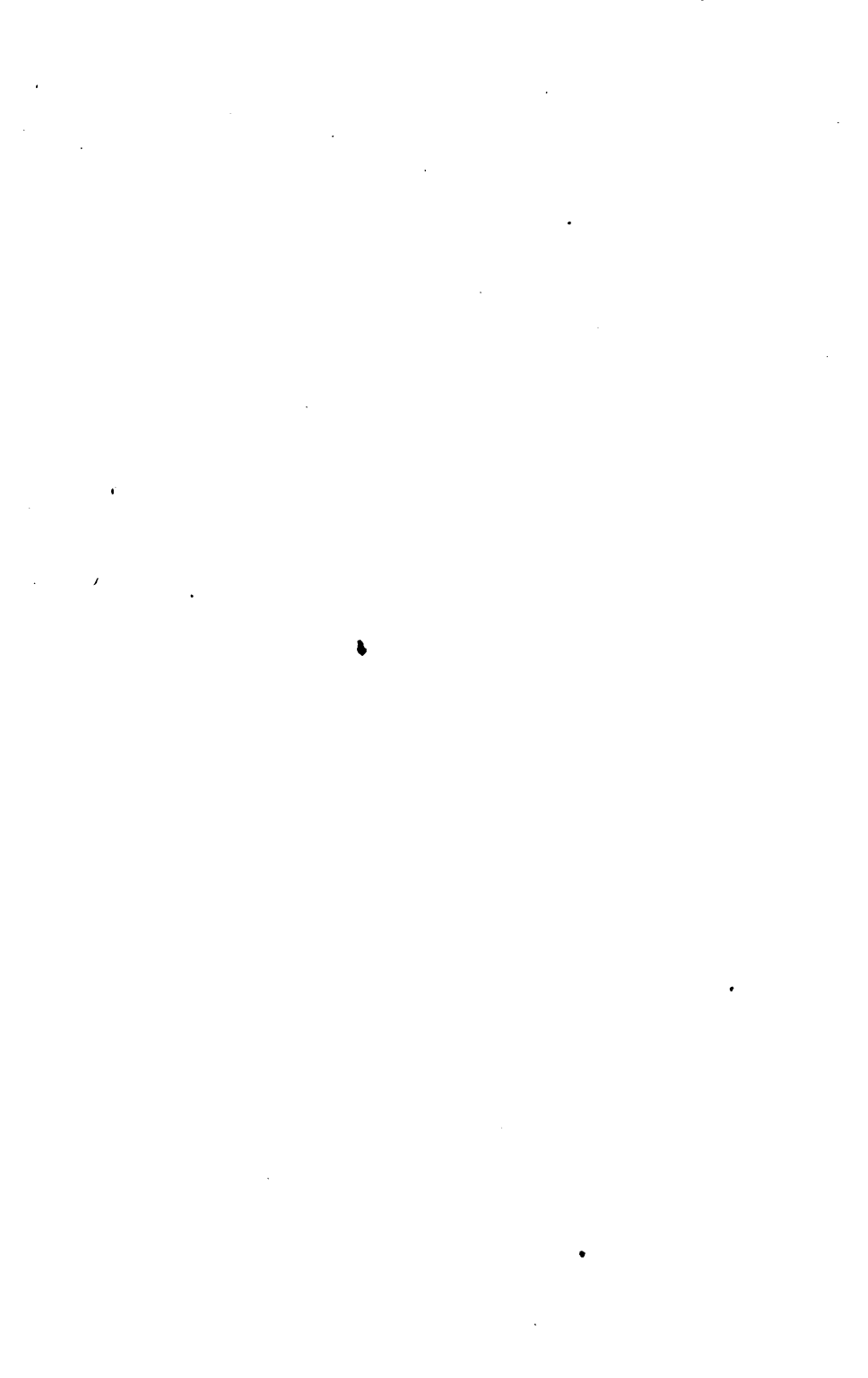
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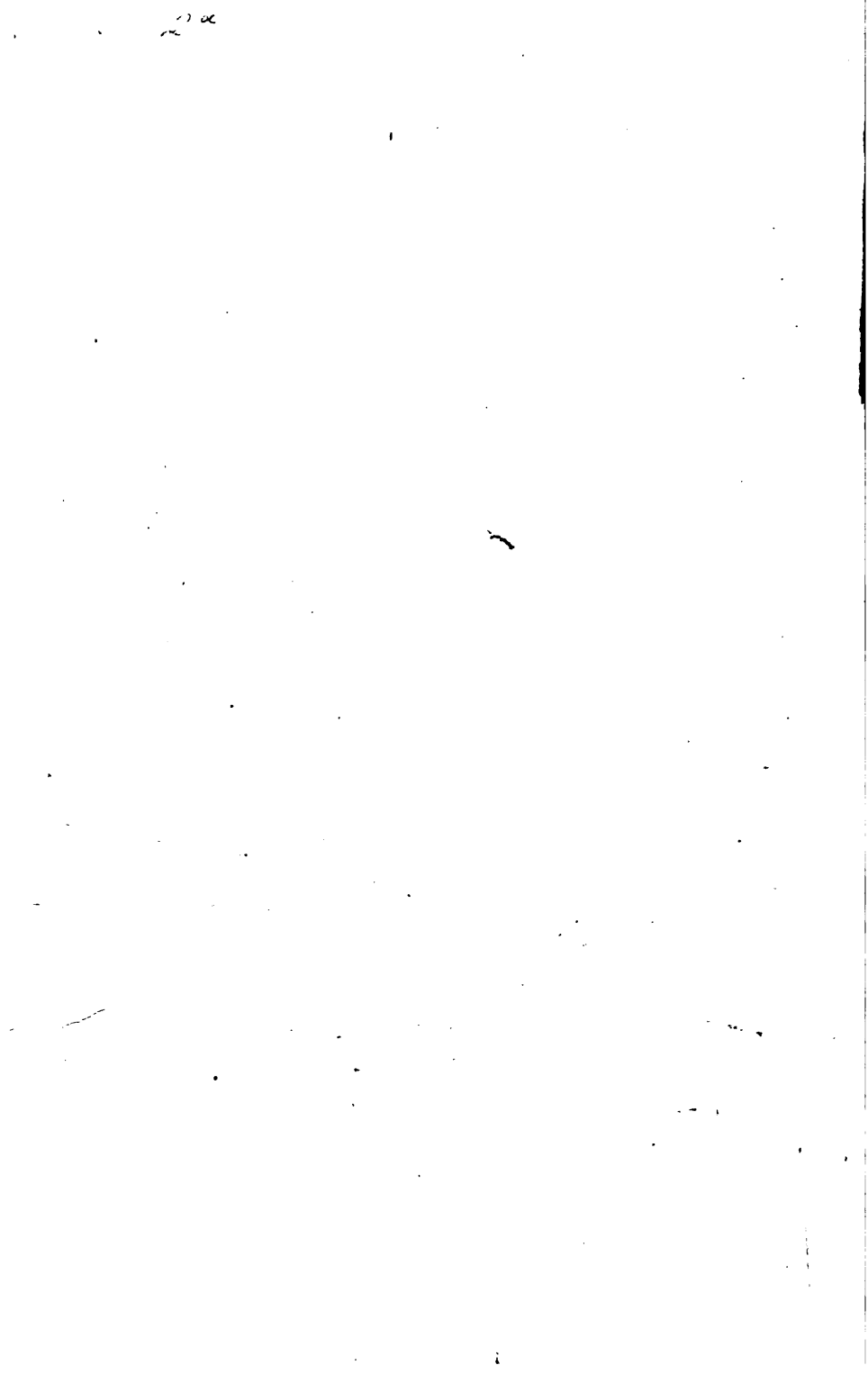
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NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM, &c.

TO THE NEW EDITION OF

FOX'S MARTYROLOGY:

BY THE

Samuel R. Maitland
REV. S. R. MAITLAND,

LIBRARIAN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PART I.

ON THE MEMOIR OF FOX ASCRIBED TO HIS SON.



LONDON: •

PRINTED FOR J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND WATERLOO PLACE, Pall Mall.

1841.

Br 1700.20.26

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Gray, J. M.

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N O T E S,

&c.

THERE are many things in Mr. Townsend's contributions to the new edition of Fox's Martyrology which require notice ; but they are of such different kinds, that it may be better to keep them in some degree distinct.

The object of this publication is merely to point out what appears to me to be one great error—the cause of many others—in his Life of Fox ; I mean his adopting, and treating as genuine and authentic, the legendary Memoir which has been ascribed to Samuel Fox, the son of the martyrologist. I know that several writers who have had occasion to speak of Fox, have done the same ; but that such a mistake should be committed by one who has been so many years engaged to write the Life of Fox, seems to me very remarkable. Speaking of the martyrologist, Mr. Townsend says :—

“ His principal biographer is his son ; and though many interesting circumstances of his more active life, after he left the

university, are to be derived, as we shall see, from various sources ; it is impossible, at the distance of three centuries, to collect any information respecting his early years, but that which his son has recorded. In the Preface to the Reader, prefixed to his account of his father, his son informs us, that ‘ he had been solicited by many persons to gratify posterity with a history of his father’s life, which he had written thirty years before.’ He had, however, continually ‘to refuse to publish it ; and he should have persevered in doing so, if he had not perceived that many who were mere strangers, and utterly ignorant of his conversation, had presumed to write his life.’ The deficiencies and inaccuracies of these unauthenticated publications induced him ‘to preserve his memory from wrong, and to place it in its true and proper light.’ ‘The importunity of both those who admired, and those who disapproved, also, of his father’s opinions and conduct, were additional reasons,’ he informs us, ‘for writing ;’ and he trusts ‘that his narrative may be regarded as free from the suspicion of intentional falsehood, or partiality, though it was compiled by a son.’ He had written it originally ‘for his own private satisfaction ; and it was now given to the world because it was deemed worthy of publication by others rather than by himself.’ None of the spurious works to which Mr. Fox here alludes are known, I believe, to exist at present ; and we must consequently be content with a few brief notices of his early life, till he was expelled the university of Oxford for heresy, as they are related in the Memoir by his son.”—p. 45.

Now, what does this involve ? The hypothesis of Mr. Townsend, and of all who believe in the Memoir, is this:—That about twenty-four years after his father’s death, his son Samuel wrote his life,—that he did this merely for his own satisfaction ; and for that same satisfaction, kept it by him for thirty years more ;—that he was then prevailed on to publish the

Memoir thus written and preserved, because of the spurious lives put forth by others; of which spurious lives, Mr. Townsend confesses that he can find no trace. This is a singular story to begin with.

A few pages forward, Mr. Townsend says : " It is much to be lamented that the Memoir of Foxe, by his son, is written without a proper attention to dates." True; but if Mr. Townsend had paid proper attention to a date which he has himself given, he would have seen that the document which he was quoting could not have been written by Samuel Fox. This Preface to the Reader, whence Mr. Townsend quotes, purports to be written in 1641; and at page 205 of Mr. Townsend's Life, we read that " Samuel Fox died in 1629, about Christmas." The Preface, therefore, which Mr. Townsend has quoted is clearly not the work of the person to whom he ascribes it, and naturally leads to a suspicion that the same may be the case with the Memoir to which it is prefixed. That this should not have been perceived by Mr. Townsend, even when he was trying to patch up the " discrepancies in the narration," by suggesting that Samuel Fox " published the Memoir when he was old¹," is very strange.

In this matter Mr. Townsend will not complain that I am indulging in that minute criticism which is so annoying to random writers. Every one who looks, even in the most cursory way, at his Life of

¹ P. 60.

Fox, will see that the authenticity and genuineness of this Memoir is a point of great importance ; and that if Mr. Townsend's want of discrimination, and acquaintance with his subject, has been imposed on, the mistake is one which ought to be pointed out. I believe it is nearly true, though I should not have ventured to state it so dogmatically as Mr. Townsend does,—for I have always a hope that truth will come out,—that “it is impossible, at the distance of three centuries, to collect any information respecting his early years, except that which his son” [or whoever was the writer of the Memoir] “has recorded.” If Mr. Townsend can say this after the years which he has been at work, and if it should appear that the Memoir is not to be trusted, I hope I shall not be blamed if I make free with some things which rest on its single authority.

If we look at what is supposed to be the original manuscript, and which is now in the British Museum², we find various marginal corrections, in a hand quite different from that of the text, which have been, I believe, generally followed in the printed copy. Whether these marginal notes are the work of some other person, correcting the author of the manuscript ; or of the author, correcting some copy of his own text not in his own hand-writing, is of little consequence ; all that I wish to be observed is, that where there is a variation between the text and the margin,

² Lansd. No. 388.

the *text* represents the original or earlier statement of the two. Let us look at one or two of these variations.

For instance, the want of dates of which Mr. Townsend complains, was more deplorable as the *Memoir* was originally written. None was assigned to the birth of Fox, until the marginal corrector added, "anno Salutis humanæ 1517." Did not Samuel Fox know when his father was born? Has not Mr. Townsend given "an inscription by his son," which states that the martyrologist died in April, 1587, being "jam septuagenarius?" Could not he have given some sort of guess, by deducting 70 from 1587? I suspect that this is what the marginal corrector did; and that he thus originated a date which has been followed ever since; but which Samuel Fox, if he had written or corrected the *Memoir*, would not have set down as that of his father's birth. He might very well, in the epitaph, state him to have been "septuagenarius," even if he supposed him (as I think he did) to have been born in 1516³. Twelve years before it is pretended that this *Memoir* was written, a grant of arms had been made to the Fox

³ I am sorry that Mr. Townsend has adopted a style of controversy which makes it necessary for me to remind the reader that I am not here discussing the question whether Fox was born in one year or another, or in that interval which might be described as either. The question is, What would Samuel Fox have written? and it is asked merely to help us in judging whether he wrote what Mr. Townsend says he did.

family ; and the patent, written, we may presume, on the information of Samuel Fox, or some of the family, assigns the earlier year. The arms I have given on the title-page of this pamphlet ; and as the patent does not appear to be known to Mr. Townsend, I will here subjoin it ⁴.

“ *Virtuti semina natura ministrat, incrementum industria, fructum gloria. Naturam a majoribus accepimus, industriam ipsimet nobis accersimus, a posteris gloriam consequimur. Parvis ortis natalibus, magna industria et solers ingentem sæpe peperit gloriam, dum Generositatem quæ in gente aut familia defecit, Nobilitas, id est, nobilis virtus, reparavit ; generosos enim ortus fortuna quandoque dat ; nobiles certe fimus, non nascimur. Nobilitasque ipsa, sive id constantis Dei consilio seu variantis fortunæ ludibrio tribuendum est, oritur, crescit, moritur, revirescit ; more corniculantis lunæ, quæ precaria luce nunc resplendens, quandoque deficiens, incipit, auget, intumescit, minuitur. Gloria, pariter virtutis umbra, dum hanc sequitur extat, qua derelicta evanescit. Hinc tot clarorum virorum, tot heroum ac ducum, tot sapientum ac Cæsarum, insignia, trophæa, decora, statuæ, imagines, monumenta, quæ felicibus inchoata auspiciis, magnis incrementis provecta, improbo conatu ac labore commendata posteris, tamdiu floruerunt, donec aut prolis degeneris desidia, aut invidiosæ vetustatis lue tandem obsoleverunt. Heroum enim filii noxæ nec semper generosa in ortus semina exurgunt suos. [sic] Pelopidarum genus, ac Cecropidarum gentem tempus abolevit. Ubi nunc Fabii, Scipiadæ, Lelii ? Alexandri aut*

⁴ I am indebted to the kindness of William Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix, for a copy of the Patent, transcribed from the Records of the College of Arms. It appears, from the memorandum at the foot, that the original was exhibited at the College in 1692, and copied by the registrar. It is probably still in existence.

Caroli cognomentum quis audet usurpare? In se magna ruunt, summis negatum stare diu, tempus omnia vocat. Quo fit ut satius multo sit honestæ gentis, ac nascentis familiæ, novum autorem aut collapsæ domus instauratorem, quam ingentis gloriæ a majoribus acceptæ, prodigum hæredem, nepotem, ac dissipatorem haberi, nisi quis ista [*sic*] animo affectus est ut malit suorum postremus esse quam primus, ac fama [*sic*] alienæ depeculator, contemptor suæ. Enimvero Foxorum gentis ac familiæ res gestæ, amplæ adeo magnificæque fuerunt, ut ex ea Angliæ suos cancellarios, Romæ legatos, Reges consiliarios, [*sic*] Respublica gubernatores, Ecclesia presules, Concilia patres, Collegia fundatores, Templi instauratores habuerint, testis Ricardus Foxus Wintoniensis, testis Edwardus Herefordensis, Episcopus; testes innumeri quos enumerari nimis longum. Sed ut aliarum ita hujus dignitas domus concidit, atque (sive id temporum injuria, sive posteriorum incuria factum est) in tenebris semi-sepulta diu jacuit, squaloreque obsita ad metas diutius hæsisset, nisi qui semen suscitavit Abrahæ, fons virtutis, auctor et origo nobilitatis, dignitatis largitor, DEUS OPT. MAX. antiquissimæ ac pientissimæ memor ac misertus familiæ, in hac senescentis mundi periodo JOHANNEM FOXUM demum anno Salutis 1516, patriæ ornamentum, ecclesiæ columen, et enectæ jam prope familiæ assertorem ac vindicem excitasset. Quem amarunt musæ, charites coluerunt, principes honestarunt, boni omnes foverunt, ipse livor invidiaque suspexerunt, de cujus laudibus nihil attinet dicere, cum neque instituti nostri id sit, ac scripta ejus dictaque ac facta mandata literis, monumento posteris esse possint, nunquam ejuscemodi virum sine afflatu divino extitisse. Hujus ob insignia in remp. merita, ob studium in patriam singulare, ob egregiam Dive [*sic*] Elizabethæ Angliæ reginæ serenissimæ domi forisque navatam operam, virtutis ac pietatis, ergo nos Guilielmus Camden, Clarenceux rex armorum in australibus, orientalibus et occidentalibus Angliæ partibus, et Guilielmus Segar, Norroy rex itidem armorum in partibus regni septentrionalibus, ex autoritate nobis sub magno Angliæ sigillo delata, eidem JOHANNI FOXO posterisque ac suc-

cessoribus ejus debitos hos virtutum honores, armaque et insignia hæc, gentilitia illa quidem aucta tamen, ac immutata deferimus, ut et ipsi studium atque officium erga tantum talemque virum nostrum probemus, et posteri ejus (quibus in iisdem armis et insignibus par jus esse volumus) stimulo hoc ad res præclare obeundas incitentur. Mandantes insuper ac prohibentes ne quis alius armis hiis atque insignibus Foxorum genti peculiaribus utatur. In cujus rei testimonium, robur, ac fidem, privilegium hoc, presentesque literas scribi et arma ipsa cum crista hic depingi in tabulas referri, nostrorumque nominum subscriptione, sigillorumque appensione corroborari fecimus. Datum in Collegio nostro xxj die Decembris, anno Domini 1598, annoque regni Dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensoris, &c. quadrigesimo primo.

"GULIELMUS CAMDEN,

"GULIELMUS SEGAR,

"Clarenceux Rex Armorum. "Norroy Rex Armorum."

"Transcribed from and examined with
the Original, 16th August, 1692, per
Hen. St. George, Clarenceux,

"ROBERT DALE."

But whether this date is right or wrong, what is the next thing that surprises us with regard to this Memoir? It is, that Samuel Fox, writing twenty-four years after his father's death, and about half as many after the grant of this patent, not even saying "Nobles and heralds, by your leave," flatly contradicts all the fine things contained in it. In the very teeth of Clarenceux and Norroy, he tells us in the text that the martyrologist was "*paterno genere plebeio sed honesto;*" and, as if most particularly to repudiate the honours which heraldry had assigned to the

paternal side, he adds, "*materno illustriore fuit*;" and then again this is corrected in the margin, not indeed so as to make it agree better with the patent, but the contrary, into "*utroque genere plebeio*, sed honesto inter suos et copioso fuit," as it is printed. All this seems to me very strange.

But, further, and stranger still. The person who makes so important a figure, in all modern versions, as the *step-father* of Fox, is unknown to the Memoir writer in that relation; and he fills up that character of the story with an *uncle*. The marginal critic is obliged to follow and correct him repeatedly:—

<i>Text of MS.</i>	<i>Marg. of MS. & printed text.</i>
"in domo <i>patrui</i> concessit"	"in domum <i>vitrici</i> concessit"
"probatusque <i>patruo</i> "	"probatusque suis"
"præsertim <i>patrui</i> "	"præsertim <i>vitrici</i> ."

To me this does not look like the performance of a son. But having got thus far, we may perhaps very properly inquire, what there is about the Memoir which *does* look like it. Throughout the whole of it, I do not observe the slightest hint or intimation that the writer was the son of the person whose life he was writing, or that he had the least intention that the reader should think so, except in six or seven lines in the very last paragraph of the Memoir ⁵, where

⁵ Since this was sent to the press I have looked again at the MS., and I see that in a sort of rhetorical exordium, (not printed,) in which the author talks about writing history, and tells us how an estimate of his means and powers had rather induced him to

the writer attempts to explain his acknowledged inability to give any account of Fox's death. He tells us that his father would not allow one of his sons to be fetched, and sent the other away; "which to me and my brother was the most grievous of all chances," and this he seems to think a sufficient reason for his knowing nothing about the matter.

Suppose the writer had been out of the way, where was his mother?—did her sons never ask her anything, or could she tell nothing? She survived the martyrologist; and, even after Samuel Fox was in the service of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, and living "at Copthall or elsewhear," he had his letters directed to "Mrs. Fox her house in Grub Street, without Cryplegate, to be conveyed." Yet we do not in the Memoir learn that she was living; and it is, I believe, in these sentences alone that the writer speaks of Fox as his father, or adverts to the existence of his brother. Is this possibly the work of a son? Both the sons of Fox were men of good education, and bred respectively at Magdalen College, Oxford, and King's College,

undertake biography, &c., I find that he says, "*Unum illud fortasse insolentius fecisse etiam apud graveis viros existimabor, quod filius patris vitam, exemplo nimis suspecto, composuerim.*" This is not in the printed copies, but seems to have furnished the hint for what is in the letter ascribed to Samuel Fox, and quoted by Mr. Townsend. It may be, therefore, that the writer *did* mean to pass for a son of Fox; or it may be that both a head and tail piece were added to what had been written, however ignorantly, in good faith; and it was afterwards thought fit to change the form of the introductory addition.

Cambridge; both had seen a good deal of the world; and, whatever there was of right or wrong about the martyrologist and his family, there seems to have been no want of strong feelings in general, and family love and affection in particular. Imagine one of those sons writing the few words which I have mentioned, to comprise all that was filial and fraternal in his long narrative. Imagine him sitting down, at the age of fifty, or near it, to write the life of a venerated parent, and never (except in such a way, and in those two paragraphs) letting out that the person whom he called "Foxius noster" was his own father. "Sæpe audiui Foxium narrantem," and the like, was not, I think, the filial style in those days.

And here, as I do not write under any fear of Mr. Townsend's displeasure, and address myself rather to those who are better able than he is to estimate the value of things which to him appear trifling, I will venture upon an observation, suggested by the name which I have just quoted. I think that the letter *i* in it furnishes some little argument against the authorship of Samuel Fox. The martyrologist, I believe, always wrote himself *Foxus*. So his name stands under the portrait prefixed to Mr. Townsend's life; and so it is, I believe, wherever his autograph occurs in the books under my care. So also it stands in the patent which I have quoted, which was probably fashioned in that respect, according to the taste of Samuel Fox. Indeed, we may collect a more direct proof of his mode of Latinizing

his name, from an anagram contained in a sort of common-place book which belonged to him, and is preserved in the British Museum⁶. If he had written his name with an *i*, he could not have turned it into "Famosus exul." This contained, I presume, an allusion to the pranks of his youth; but he had set up for a gentleman long before the time when he is supposed to have published the Memoir; the patent of arms had been granted, and he had become connected with several families of high respectability. He had married into that of the Levesons of Kent; not, I suspect, to their liking, but the matter had been made up; and his son Thomas, and daughter Ann, had connected him with the Honiwoods of the same county, and the Botelers of Hertfordshire. He was apparently an exact man, who took the pains to register the names of all the sponsors of all his children and grandchildren, among whom were many persons of quality; but he did not think it worth while to drop a hint in the Memoir, that the martyr-ologist had a single kinsman or descendant in the world but himself.

Having stated many things which the Memoir writer (to my mind most unaccountably) did *not* know, may I ask what he *did* know? It must have been almost nothing. Did he know that his mother (about whose station he had been in doubt) ever had a daughter? Did he know when, or by whom, or even

⁶ Lansd. No. 679, p. 126, b.

whether his father ever received holy orders? Did he know that John Fox ever was at *Frankfort*? It is easy to pass over matters in his verbose legend, but really I have not observed in it any answer to these questions, or anything to show that they may not be truly answered in the negative.

Further, as the Memoir writer seems to have known but little of Fox's family, and of, at least, one of the most memorable as well as notorious periods of his life, may we ask what he knew of his *Works*? Why, he tells us that Fox began his martyrology at Basil, and was eleven years writing it,—a statement so monstrous, that one wonders how any body could have written it, and how even Mr. Townsend could read it without suspicion. It needs no confutation; but as Mr. Townsend has himself made a confusion about Fox's two editions of the Latin book printed abroad, it may be as well to say (and I believe he will not dispute) that the writing of the work was begun in England, that it was first printed at Strasbourg, in 1554, and reprinted at Basil, in 1559. Moreover, the author of the Memoir, with peculiar absurdity, and as if he wished to show that he knew nothing about the matter, tells us that Fox only drew out the plan of his martyrology abroad, brought it home that he might use the testimony of more witnesses, and having filled it up, sent it abroad to be printed. Whereas few things in Fox's history seem clearer than that he stayed abroad, after most of his fellow-exiles had returned, to superintend the

publication of his book, and dated the dedication from Basil⁷.

Again, the author of the Memoir makes a mistake, which a son of Fox could scarcely have made, respecting a work published by his father, with his name. He sets down in the list of Fox's works one which he entitles "*De lapsis per errorem in ecclesiam restituendis.*" After Fox had become known, indeed at a period when one might almost say, that he was known *only* as a martyrologist, it was not very unnatural that a careless compiler, who had not seen his books, should suppose that one entitled "*De lapsis in ecclesiam recipiendis,*" &c., related to the reconciliation of heretics, or persons "*lapsi per errorem;*" but every one who had seen the tract, or even the title-page with which it was first published, must have been aware that it related to those who

⁷ "His industry may be from hence abundantly testified : that being so full of employment at Basil, there, nevertheless, he began to write his history of the Acts and Monuments of the Church ;—a work, by the title alone, seeming beyond man's belief. At first, it sufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the first lines or rudiments, or, as it were, to fasten the warp to the loom : the whole body of the history he added, and interwove it after he returned into his own country. First he wrote it in Latin, and sent the copy to Basil to be printed ; where the work is still in great estimation, as also in divers other foreign nations, —among our own men hardly known, whilst we seek after and admire strangers only, either through carelessness or envy, neglecting our countrymen. Shortly after, to gratify the unlearned, he wrote it in his mother-tongue."

had fallen, not into error, but into adultery. Did not Fox's son know, that the tract "*De lapsis in Ecclesiam recipiendis per pœnitentiam resipiscentibus*," &c., was the same book as the "*De non plectendis adulteris*," &c.?

Perhaps it is hardly worth while to add further proof that the Memoir was not written by a son of the martyrologist; but yet I must mention one thing which has amused and helped to convince me. The author says that Fox was commonly reported to have been so liberal as to give away his property, without the knowledge of his wife, even to the dis-furnishing of his house; but that he did not himself believe the statement for two reasons—which, coming from a son who had boasted of his peculiar qualifications to write his father's life, arising from his having been so much with him⁸, are very pleasant—first, that he had not found that fact recorded by any author of good credit; and secondly, that it was, simply considered, improbable that Fox "should descend to such extream courses."

I cannot help thinking that most people will agree with me in the belief that this Memoir was never written by Samuel Fox. But I have as yet said nothing of his younger brother, Simeon; and if I

⁸ "Having myself, when I was a young man, been always conversant with him in his later days, and when I was absent from him, had better intelligence of any remarkable passage in his life." Only, it seems, that he had not happened to hear any thing about Frankfort, and some few other matters.

make no allusion to him, I may be thought guilty of unfair suppression. Of course almost every thing that I have said of Samuel Fox applies equally to Simeon; but there is one thing which does not. The edition in which this Memoir was originally published bears the date of 1641; and though Samuel Fox had been dead a long while, yet Simeon Fox was living in that year. This is true; but there are some things to be considered which render it almost impossible to believe that it was the work of Simeon Fox. First, there is all that has been advanced against the idea of its having been written by a son at all: and this will, I think, with all moderate persons, be sufficient; and secondly, there seems to me a great improbability that a gentleman of eighty, who had been for several years President of the College of Physicians, should make his *début* as an author, by prefixing an anonymous Memoir, conceived in such a style, to an edition of his father's work, with the previous editions of which (and there had been at least three others since his father died) he does not seem to have interfered⁹. Thirdly, it is literally true, that the edition bears date, and that Simeon Fox was living in 1641; but I do not know

⁹ He had been a fellow ever since the 17th June, 1608; and I imagine, generally speaking, always on the spot. For the permission by which I was enabled to learn what I state respecting Dr. Fox, in the archives of the College of Physicians, I am indebted to my friend R. B. Todd, Esq., M.D., one of the Censors of that learned body.

that the edition was completed in 1641; and I do know that Dr. Fox died on April 19th, 1642. Further, it seems obvious that the publication of this Memoir with this edition was not originally contemplated, from its being placed not in the first, but the second volume. Now Dr. Fox, though alive in 1641, resigned his Presidency of the College, and retired from public life, on the 20th of October in that year; and, though I pretend not to explain the matter, yet I cannot but think that the circumstances of Dr. Fox had something to do with it. Either that his withdrawing from public life in a state of infirmity emboldened the booksellers to print what had really perhaps been prepared (as it states) thirty years before (that is, probably, for the edition of 1610, and perhaps prevented from being published by one of the brothers or some of the family), or else that this manuscript, whatever its origin, had been in the possession of Dr. Fox, and that on his death it got into the hands of the booksellers, who employed some Grub-street writer to do what he and they considered necessary for making it appear to be the work of a son of Fox; which is more likely.

It is perhaps hardly worth while to offer these conjectures—certainly not worth while to pursue them at present—for the ignorance and absurdity of the Memoir is so gross and palpable, that the question of its authorship becomes one of very little interest. If Mr. Townsend can prove that it was written by either of Fox's sons, or by both of them together,

that will be no excuse for his having taken it for an authority; and will not make it a whit more credible to those who have any acquaintance with the undoubted facts connected with Fox's history. We may be amazed that persons with such opportunities for gaining correct information should have written such rubbish, but we are not to receive it on even their authority. A further specimen will corroborate what I say; and will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my treating it with very little respect.

Let us see how Fox's story stands in the Memoir. The author tells us that he was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford—that he lost his fellowship, and fell into want—that his step-father took advantage of his friendless state to rob him of his patrimony—that he was relieved by obtaining the situation of tutor in the family of Sir Thomas Lucy, a worshipful knight of Warwickshire, in whose house he found an asylum until his pupils, “coming to riper years, had now no longer need of a tutor”—that having, during this period, married a wife, and being thus set adrift in the world, he was at a loss whether to apply for hospitality to his step-father or his wife's father, not looking for much courtesy from either—that, in fact, he found more kindness from them than he had ventured to expect; and by judiciously alternating between the two, he was tolerated for a longer time than he had anticipated—that after this, and a few years before the death of Henry VIII., he came to London—that there

he fell into a state of destitution ; in fact, was so reduced, that he went and sat in St. Paul's, looking "after the gastful manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror,"—that he was rescued from this condition, and taken into the service of the Duchess of Richmond, to be tutor to the Earl of Surrey's children, who had been consigned to her care on their father's (her brother's) committal to the Tower—and that with her, and in this office of tutor, Fox lived during the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII.

This is the account given by the author of the Memoir, whoever he might be. Would anybody dream that this long story (or rather this story which seems to relate to a series of events occupying a long space of time) refers to a period of only one year and a half? All these adventures must have been passed through in about eighteen months. Dates, to be sure, there are none in the Memoir ; but they exist elsewhere, and are relentless. Fox, Mr. Townsend tells us, was expelled from Magdalen on the 22d of July, 1545, and Henry VIII. died on the 28th of January, 1547¹. Fox's Warwickshire pupils must have grown up with mushroom rapidity; the unexpectedly protracted courtesies of his step-father and his wife's father must, after all, have been but brief; and as to his coming to London "*a few years* before the death of Henry VIII.," it is obviously absurd;

¹ P. 51.

as it is also to talk of his living with the Duchess of Richmond, as tutor to the Earl of Surrey's children, during the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII. Why, Surrey was only committed to the Tower on the 12th of December 1546, and Henry, as I have just said, died on the 28th of January 1547. At the time of the earl's committal his children were in Norfolk, under the care of their own mother. How long it was before they were transferred to that of their aunt, I do not take upon me to decide ; but, that the children of the Earl of Surrey were not under the care of the Duchess of Richmond at all during the lifetime of Henry VIII. seems beyond all doubt. In reference to this part of the Memoir, Mr. Townsend says, "some difficulty has arisen in making the account of Fox's life by his son consistent with itself." I should think so indeed. How can we account for Mr. Townsend's setting about such a business? And are not we to be pitied, who have to pay for his unlucky attempts?

I stated at the outset, that my object in this publication is to point out the great mistake which Mr. Townsend has made in considering the life ascribed to Samuel Fox as genuine and authentic ; and it is no part of my present purpose to show all the mistakes to which this capital error has led, though I believe that my argument would be strengthened by a full and particular examination of the facts which Mr. Townsend has related on the authority of the Memoir. Of course I do not mean to say, that

nothing in that document is true ; but I do mean to say, that an examination of all its statements would probably bring out many confirmations of my opinion that it is spurious. Some of the things which rest on its authority only (in addition to those which I have already noticed, as obviously erroneous or absurd), are, in my opinion, very doubtful ; and would, if sifted, add to our reasons for rejecting the Memoir. I will, however, give two specimens to illustrate what I mean.

The author of the Memoir tells us that, when Fox lost his fellowship, he was entertained as tutor in the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, a worshipful knight of Warwickshire. Mr. Townsend seems to believe this, and gives a note which has such a show of research, that I do not deny it ; but my own belief is, that there was no Sir Thomas Lucy, and no Warwickshire knight at all named Lucy, when Fox is said to have been expelled, or for twenty years before or after.

Secondly, I will mention a still more important matter, which, though it has been generally received, rests, as far as I know, entirely on this Memoir, and which appears to me to be very doubtful. I do not pretend to have sifted it as thoroughly as I ought to have done, if I had undertaken to write the life of Fox, nor do I wish to speak dogmatically ; but I must say plainly, that with such light as I have, I do not believe that John Fox was ever expelled from Magdalen College at all, either for heresy or anything else. His expulsion on the ground commonly stated,

is certainly not what I should have been led to expect from such particulars of the state of things as I have happened hitherto to glean. I should have supposed that Fox might have been in more danger, in such a time and place, if he had been a stiff papist, denying the king's supremacy; and that a scholar secretly inclining to the Reformation, could hardly have been in a safer place than Magdalen College. Laurence Humphrey, president of that college, Fox's companion in exile, and his intimate friend so long as they both lived, (and therefore a most unexceptionable witness,) wrote the life of their common friend, Bishop Jewel. He accounts for that prelate's early bias towards the principles of the Reformation, from his having been a pupil of Parkhurst, at Merton College; and for Parkhurst's protestantism, (if I may use the word for brevity,) from his having been educated at Magdalen College. And the period of which he is speaking, is somewhere about ten years before the time when Fox is said to have been expelled².

But Laurence Humphrey was, as I have said, the friend of Fox, probably one of the most intimate and attached. In this Life of Jewel, he had occasion to say much of the sufferings of the martyrs for the Protestant cause; and, as in private duty bound, he makes a digression to commemorate the sufferings of the members of that college of which he was the

² "Parckhurstus enim tunc cœpit Papisticum fermentum et feces subodorari, prius in Collegio Magdalenensi educatus, et optimorum virorum saluberrima institutione edoctus." p. 20.

head—the “*privatum ulcus Magdalenensium*.” But he says nothing, that I can see, of any persecution in the college for religion, or of Fox’s having suffered anything on that account, *before* the time of Queen Mary; Fox’s sufferings *after* that time are not forgotten. Is it possible, that one who felt so deeply and strongly as the president, should have thus passed over the personal friend, the proto-martyr of his college³?

³ “*Privatum ulcus Magdalenensium breviter liceat, quæso, (candide lector) attingere, ut ad Juellum mox commodius redeam. Si omnes recenserem qui in hac procella injuriam passi sunt, nimis alte repeteretur oratio : si nullos, ingratus viderer cum in hæc tempora ea narratio incidat. Omitto Joannem Foxum Magdalenensem, martyrum suorum monumentis scriptorum varietate et elegancia, virtutibus, religione et exilio in hac Mariana tempestate satis clarum. Omitto Joannem Harlæum,*” &c. p. 69. This was printed in 1573; and the same may be said of the Preface to his “*Jesuitismi pars prima*,” addressed to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. If he had known all that Mr. Townsend tells us, could he have written thus in deducing the line of witnesses which Oxford had furnished? “*Venio ad Henrici Octavi ætatem, quando G. Tindallus, interpres biblicorum fidelissimus, multorum biblicorum autor doctissimus, et martyr constantissimus : quando Tavernerus, homo tum veræ religionis sitientissimus, tum artis suæ musicæ peritissimus : quando Clericus eruditissimus, salsamentorum et putridorum piscium in carcere gymnasii Friswidensis fœtorem et pedorem non ferens extinctus : quando Joan. Frithus cum Thoma Moro, viro doctrina et ingenio præstanti sæpe congressus est et demum concrematus ; cujus tamen mortem indignam Mori ejusdem morte justissimus Dominus ultus est : quando Ric. Coxus, ecclesiæ Christi Decanus primus, Cancellarius noster, et post Eliensis Episcopus : quando Hedonus, Gar-*

I am not able to mention any other person who seems to have been as intimate a friend of Fox as Humphrey was, except it may be one, who certainly was a very intimate one. He tells us that he used to be with Fox at the Duchess of Richmond's; that they were together in Germany; and that, for ten years, Fox was his Achates. Moreover, he wrote a biographical sketch of Fox, in which he tells us of his having belonged to Magdalen College; but not a word of expulsion, or even persecution. Was it like John Bale to pass over such a matter?

Were these two bosom friends of Fox in a conspiracy to rob the martyrologist of the honour of martyrdom? Their silence seems to me unaccountable. There is, however, another person whose silence is quite as surprising—that is, Fox himself. No one who reads his writings can doubt that he was a man who felt, and expressed his feelings, very strongly, and one who did not spare those whom he considered as persecutors of the Church of God. I

rettus, Howkerus, Harlæus, Episcopus Herefordensis, tuæ pueritiæ nobilissime Comes olim peritus et pius informator, et *alii non pauci Magdalenenses*, hanc ipsam nostram fidem professi, alii comprehensi, alii pedicis, alii manicis constricti, alii duro examine torti, alii combusti, alii multis modis excruciiati pie quondam Oxoniæ degerunt. Ut de reliquis tempore Mariano vel Collegio suo ejectis, vel peremptis, vel hinc, inde misere oberrantibus sileam. Nam de istorum nonnullorum et aliorum doctrina, confessione, poena satis superque docebit Joannis Foxi diligentissimi et politissimi historici magno labore, multis impensis, fide optima, congestum Martyrologium."

believe Fox was a man of kind disposition, very charitable to the poor, a comforter of the afflicted, a great lover of peace all his life, if he could have had it his own way; and perhaps, in his elder years, glad to have it in any way that it might be had with a safe conscience⁴. This I believe; but at the same time, look at his language when he has occasion to speak of the proud prancing prelates, and the detestable and abominable practices of their factors and fautors; and say, whether he could have passed over what (setting aside its necessary magnitude in his own eyes) was really a fact which should have been mentioned in his history, and, indeed, could not be omitted without affectation. Surely, if his college had persecuted him and expelled him, we should, in some way or other, have gathered some hint of it from his writings. There was no motive for concealing it, if it had been a thing that could be concealed; but

⁴ This was written before Mr. Townsend's *Life* was published, and is, I am sure, only what those who know my opinions would expect that I should say. I am sorry that he should have descended to the meanness of endeavouring to make it appear that I had avowed "personal dislike" to Fox, and should talk of my "hatred" of the martyrologist. He can scarcely be ignorant that the phrase was not originally mine, but the publishers'; who, with whatever propriety, used it to express a dislike to the book itself, as distinguished from a simple disapprobation of their particular edition of it. I should have been ashamed to cavil at their phraseology, when I believed that I knew what they meant. In that sense I adopted it; and very willingly acknowledged all that I supposed them to lay to my charge.—See *Letters*, p. 61. 74.

surely it could not, and, as I have said, the very pretence must have been affectation; more particularly as one or two occasions offered on which an entire want of reference to it seems quite unaccountable.

One of these was when Fox had to record in his Martyrology the history of “a learned and virtuous young man, called Julius Palmer, some time Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford,” who was expelled from the same college as Fox, under circumstances so like what are supposed to have been his own, as must, one would think, have called forth some allusion to himself.

A second occasion offered, when he presented a copy of his Acts and Monuments to Magdalen College, accompanied by a letter to his friend Laurence Humphrey, in which there is not only no mention of any thing of the kind, but the tone and whole style of the letter is quite opposed to such an idea. It begins thus:—“Etsi nihil erat in rebus meis dignum atque idoneum quod B. Mariæ Magdalenæ, veteris hospitæ ac nutricis meæ pixidi mitterem,” &c.; and after saying how Garbrand, the bookseller, had persuaded him to send the book, he adds:—“Auxit porro nonnihil hanc mittendi fiduciam *tacita quædam et jam olim insita mihi erga collegium istud propensio, vestræ deinde erga me humanitatis, simulque mei vicissim erga vos officii recordatio*. Intelligo enim quid veteri scholæ, quid charis consodalibus, quid demum universo Magdalenensium ordini ac cœtui, sed præcipue quid ipsi imprimis charissimo collegiarchæ,

viro ornatissimo D. Laurentio debeam," &c. So many important events had intervened, that we are apt to forget that, when this was written, less than seventeen years had elapsed since the time of his supposed expulsion, and narrow escape with his life from this beloved college. What should induce him to write thus? Farther, he goes on to speak of his work as "de rebus maxime Oxoniensibus conscriptam historiam;" and adds, "Atque ne nihil aliud quam historiam nudam et incommitatam mittere videamur, en! simul cum historia, inter cæteros quos in hoc multiplici et numeroso christianorum militum satellitio Oxonia vestra, tanquam fœlix mater, tum imprimis Magdalenæ fœlicissima fœcunditas, produxit Jocelinum vestrum Palmerum, *e choro vestro proximis his annis ereptum, denuo ad vos tanquam redeuntem et restitutum recipietis*; simulque cum eo cæteros, nec paucos, nec vulgares Oxoniæ vestræ quondam alumnos," &c. Surely it must have been the most gross and unworthy affectation to write in this way, if Fox had himself been driven from the college as a Protestant heretic.

A third occasion on which we might naturally have expected some allusion, is at Vol. IV., page 694, where he gives an account of a kinsman of his, whom he represents as having been hanged in his chamber at Christ's College, for inclining to the doctrines of the Reformation, some years before he is supposed to have been persecuted himself.

But the fourth and most remarkable occasion (and

to say the truth, I believe that which has given rise to the whole story) is this—whether the story of Fox is true, or a tradition of Julius Palmer misapplied after near a century—whether Fox was expelled from Magdalen College, Oxford, or not, it is quite certain that his son Samuel was. Fuller⁵ has given a letter written on the occasion by the martyrologist, to some prelate, which occupies about a folio page and a quarter of close-printed italics. One would have thought that, in so long a letter, full of strong feeling on the subject of his son's expulsion, he could scarcely have failed to make some allusion to his own case, if the thing had really happened to himself; especially with so singular a difference, as that the father had been expelled for protestantism, and now they were expelling the son for popery. But the tone of the letter is quite different. He seems at a loss to express his astonishment that such severity should have been exercised towards his son, with such neglect of his own intercession, by a body whom of all persons in the world, he would have been anxious not to injure or offend. He goes on to tell the bishop that, in fact, the college was divided into two parties, one for and the other against the President, his friend Laurence Humphrey; who, though in some degree a nonconformist, did not go far enough to satisfy the more violent puritanical party. That his son, as was right, took the part of the president: "*Quod vero filius meus cum altero ejus collega, præfecto suo, ut*

⁵ Ch. Hist. bk. ix. p. 106.

par erat, inclinatio videbatur, propterea societate ex-hæredatur. Accedit huic et alia causa, quam tam filio quam mihi ipsi imputo,"—and then he goes on to state, that this other cause was the moderation which characterized his son as well as himself. Surely it was an occasion in which some allusion to his own case, and the change of times and feeling in the college, would seem to have been unavoidable.

There may, perhaps, be evidence sufficient to remove these doubts; but as I have not observed any in Mr. Townsend's *Life of Fox*, or in such part as I have seen of the letters to or from Fox, and other documents forming the large mass to which Strype refers, under the title of "*Foxii MSS.*," I feel authorized to state them. At the same time, I must remind the reader, that this is not the question which I proposed to discuss, but is only incidentally mentioned, to illustrate it. If it is proved that Fox was expelled, there is, of course, no wonder and no credit in his biographer's being acquainted with the fact; if he was not, it is another instance of the biographer's relating what is erroneous.

The question is simply, Whether the *Memoir of Fox* is genuine and authentic, and to be received as an authority? How far the value of Mr. Townsend's *Life of Fox* depends on the decision of this question, will be obvious to all who read it.

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

CANON OF DURHAM, &c.

TO THE NEW EDITION OF

FOX'S MARTYROLOGY:

BY THE

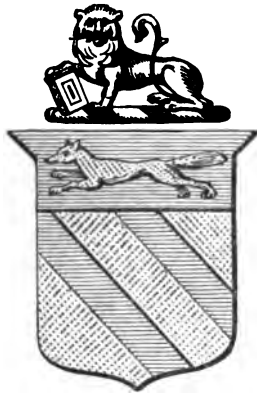
REV. S. R. MAITLAND,

LIBRARIAN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PART II.

PURITAN THAUMATURGY:

WITH A REPLY TO MR. TOWNSEND'S "REMARKS" ON PART I., &c.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1842.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

REPLY,

&c.

I FULLY intended to have proceeded in this second part to another point connected with Mr. Townsend's Contributions, and merely to have prefixed a brief reply to his "Remarks," supposing them not to have been recalled, as I really did expect that they would have been, before I could conveniently get out another number. Instead of this, however, Mr. Townsend has shown himself not merely self-complacent, but triumphant; and has boasted in a newspaper of having given me "a castigation." It seems necessary, therefore, to make rather a fuller reply to his pamphlet than it would otherwise require; and I postpone the subject to which I meant to have devoted this number in favour of one, which while it may be treated more briefly, and with less trouble, is at the same time well worthy of investigation in itself, and more immediately connected with the matters con-

tained in Mr. Townsend's Remarks. The reader probably does not care to be minutely informed how this change of plan, other necessary occupations, the delay occasioned by my not being able to procure a book which I wanted for the purpose, and an absence from England of longer duration than I had anticipated, have delayed this publication longer than I wished and expected; and will, I think, perceive that I take the shortest and clearest mode of proceeding, by giving, without any further preface, three extracts from the John Bull newspaper.

No. I.

FROM THE JOHN BULL OF 29 JAN., 1842.

"WE have great pleasure in giving insertion to the following letter, and freely acknowledge that when we wrote there was a confusion in our mind between Mr. TOWNSEND and another author. We do not think of old Foxe so highly as Mr. TOWNSEND does; but we readily accept and print his communication:—

TO JOHN BULL.

College, Durham, Jan. 24, 1842.

SIR,—I have just read with much pleasure your account of Lambeth Palace, in your paper of Saturday last, the 22d.

Towards the conclusion of the second column you speak of one of the ornaments of the Palace in this manner,—I must quote your own words:—‘Here’ (that is, in the Library at Lambeth) ‘day after day, making ample use of the stores of knowledge which they’ (the books) ‘contain, may be seen His Grace’s head librarian, and Mr. TOWNSEND’s merciless persecutor, the Rev. Mr. MAITLAND. Excellent Mr. TOWNSEND had far better stuck to his romances about the Waldenses, and left Foxe’s *Martyro-*

logy alone. He is no match for his well-read antagonist ; and in his defence of the old Puritan, acts but a sorry figure when opposed to him.'

Will you oblige me by accepting the enclosed pamphlet, which is, I believe, only this day published in London, and which you could not therefore have seen when you wrote the above paragraph. The only attack Mr. MAITLAND has ever made upon me is contained in a brochure of thirty-one pages. It is entitled, *Notes on the Contributions of Mr. Townsend to the New Editions of Foxe's Martyrology*. To that brochure the pamphlet I send you is a reply ; and if the exposure, which I have therein made, of Mr. MAITLAND's false reasoning, dishonest omissions, singular ignorance, and ungentlemanly imputations of unworthy motives, constitute a castigation, I should be much delighted if you would increase my knowledge, by informing me what other writer ever received a more just or more deserved punishment than I have inflicted on Mr. MAITLAND. Whether you will still affirm that I am no match for my 'merciless persecutor,' or that 'I cut a sorry figure when opposed to my well-read antagonist,' after you have read my pages—if indeed you will read them—I cannot say. I am sure that Mr. MAITLAND cannot answer me.

I cannot imagine what you mean when you speak of my 'romances about the Waldenses.' I have written nothing about the Waldenses, but a few paragraphs respecting the origin of the name, which you have evidently not read. You have mistaken me for some other person.

With respect to my defence of the venerable Martyrologist, whom you call the 'old Puritan,' I shall continue to think with the Fathers of the Church of England, that JOHN FOXE deserves the love and respect of his countrymen. Very pleasant is the situation in which I am placed. Mr. MAITLAND and his coadjutors are abusing me as a Low Churchman, because I honour, value, and defend the character and labours of JOHN FOXE. The editor of the *Record* and his correspondents are abusing me as a High Churchman, because I honour, value, and defend the Apostolical succession. So let it be. I shall persevere in the labours,

which it has pleased God, in many instances, to render useful; and I am convinced that neither Mr. MAITLAND, nor the editor of the *Record*, nor any other assailant, can lower me in the estimation of those whose good opinions I may either value or desire.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,
GEO. TOWNSEND, Canon of Durham."

No. II.

FROM THE JOHN BULL OF FEBRUARY 5, 1842.

"UPON our established principle of *Audi alteram partem*, we give a place to the following:—

TO JOHN BULL.

SIR,—I did not see Mr. TOWNSEND's letter in your Paper of Saturday until this (Wednesday) evening, or I should have earlier asked your leave to offer a word or two of caution to some of your readers. Those who are not acquainted with his singular manner of speaking of himself and his performances, may be led to imagine that he has done something very wonderful, where in fact (as I hope to show more fully elsewhere) he has been exposing his rash and presumptuous ignorance.

Of the ten errors alleged by Mr. TOWNSEND in the pamphlet which he has sent to you, I believe that not one is real; and that, with regard to nearly all, this will be obvious to any one who takes the trouble to compare what I really wrote with what Mr. TOWNSEND has offered as a reply. I, therefore, enclose you the 'brochure of 31 pages.'

But two of those errors can only be answered by reference to books which you and the greater part of your readers cannot be expected to have at hand. Will you allow me to say a few words of them, which may illustrate the nature of Mr. TOWNSEND's broad assertions generally?

No. 6 (on p. 11) stands thus (the italics being Mr. TOWNSEND's):—

'Mr. Maitland's sixth error is, *that he endeavours to prove the*

spuriousness of the Memoir by a mistake, as he calls it, of the author not knowing that one of Fixe's books, entitled, 'De lapsis in ecclesiam recipiendis,' referred, not to those who had fallen into error, but into adultery : and that this tract is the same as that entitled, 'De non morte plectendis, &c.' To all this I answer—that Tanner, in his Bibliotheca, gives the titles of the two tracts, or books, the dates of their publication, and the beginning of the first line of each, and these prove they are not one and the same book, as Mr. Maitland surmises. There is not one paragraph in the first, which applies to the second of these tracts or publications. Mr. Maitland should have consulted Tanner.'

Allow me to assure you, Mr. Editor, that I should not have written as I did, if I had not collated what Mr. TOWNSEND calls 'the two tracts,' and found them to be one and the same. Bishop TANNER is mistaken; and the adoption of his mistake by a biographer who has written so leisurely is very discreditable. I have no proof to offer but the book itself in its twofold form, which is now on my table, and which I shall be happy to show to you, or to any bookseller whom you may name as a competent judge in such a question.

Secondly, as it regards the 9th error. I expressed my belief that there was no Sir *Thomas* Lucy, and no Warwickshire Knight at all named Lucy, for twenty years before or after the year 1545. It is not worth while to enter into the details of Mr. TOWNSEND's answer, though they require notice, and I hope to give it elsewhere; but the fact is, that the whole of it is written under the misconception that there was an hereditary title in the family. This leads him to make a Sir William Lucy, and to tell us that Sir *Thomas* the younger 'succeeded' him in 1550. The truth is, however, that, as he justly observes, 'one Sir Thomas Lucy died in 1525,' which was twenty years *before* 1545, and his grandson was knighted, some forty years after his death, in the *seventh* year of Elizabeth, which began 17th Nov., 1564, and ended 17th Nov., 1565, which cannot be far (it may be a fraction more or less according to the day when Sir Thomas was knighted) from twenty years *after* the year 1545. Young Sir Thomas was no more

knighted because he was the grandson of old Sir Thomas, than because he was the son of *William Lucy, Esquire*. Mr. TOWNSEND says that he considers my speaking of his note on this subject in his *Life of Fox* (p. 60) as having 'a show of research,' to be 'impertinent.' He will, perhaps, think me more impertinent if I tell him that the show of research in that unlucky note is the proof and the record of his ignorance. He actually (and very correctly) calls the same person '*Thom. Lucy Arm.*' in 1562, and '*Thom. Lucy Miles*' in 1577; and yet, as if he was ignorant of any difference in the meaning of the words, he tells us that the *Armiger* of 1562 'became *Sir Thomas*' in 1550.

Perhaps those who consider these two points may suspect that I have something to say on the other eight.

I am really unwilling to trespass on your space, but I must beg you to let me ask one question. Mr. TOWNSEND says (I believe very truly), 'The only attack Mr. MAITLAND has ever made upon me, is contained in a brochure of 31 pages.' That brochure I enclose. I have no right to ask you to read it; but I send it that, if you should think fit, you may form your own opinion as to my right to call on Mr. TOWNSEND to say what he means by afterwards saying, 'Mr. MAITLAND and his coadjutors are abusing me as a Low Churchman.'

I do call on Mr. TOWNSEND—whether in your *Journal* must, of course, depend on your permission—publicly to state where and how I have abused him as a Low Churchman, and to name the persons whom he calls my 'coadjutors.'

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

S. R. MAITLAND."

No. III.

FROM THE JOHN BULL OF FEB. 12, 1842.

"*College, Durham, Jan. [read Feb.] 7, 1842.*

SIR,—Will you oblige me by permitting me to comply with Mr. MAITLAND's request, that I would notice his letter of the last week in your *Journal*.

Four things in that letter demand attention. I will devote but one sentence to each.

1st. Mr. MAITLAND affirms that Bishop TANNER, in his *Bibliotheca*, was wrong, and that the tracts by JOHN FOXE, which the Bishop believes to have been two, were but one publication.

I answer that Mr. MAITLAND is right, and that Bishop TANNER has misled me. I relied upon his authority, which has hitherto been undisputed. Mr. MAITLAND triumphs.

2. I am accused of supposing that the title of Knight was hereditary.

I have made no such supposition. But was it not usual to call the heads of knightly, or honourable, or large-landed families by that title?—whether they were actually created Knights or not. We call the sons of certain Peers—Lords. They are in law, mere commoners.

3. Mr. MAITLAND asks, where he has called me a 'Low Churchman?'

Nowhere, in those very words, I answer. But constantly by implication; as the defender of JOHN FOXE, the Martyrologist, whom he is pleased, most unjustly, to stigmatise as a Presbyterian.

4. Mr. MAITLAND calls upon me to name the persons whom I call his coadjutors.

What can he mean? How is it possible that I can name even that one of his anonymous coadjutors, who compelled me to begin this correspondence, by informing your readers, in his account of Lambeth Palace, of Mr. MAITLAND's mercilessness and great excellences; and of my inability to contend with him.

May I add but one remark. Mr. MAITLAND informs your readers, that I have a singular manner of speaking of myself and my performances.

I conclude from this expression, that he believes I have spoken foolishly and vainly. If this is his meaning, I trust that his accusation will not be deemed just. I desire to persevere in some labours which may be useful, and I could not have this hope, if I had not some confidence that my efforts may not be

finally deemed valueless: but I hope I desire to place myself no higher than even Mr. MAITLAND himself would elevate me, and that is certainly at the lowest point among my contemporaries.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND.

[We trust that this correspondence will be allowed to drop here.—*Editor.*] ”

Of course I bowed to the decision of the Editor; for though I might have fairly remarked on some points in Mr. Townsend's letters, which I hope to notice in this pamphlet, yet I had every reason to be content that, even in his own way, and with the very droll attempt at evasion about the title of Sir William Lucy, Mr. Townsend had confessed that his charge against me was false, his title-page a vain boast, and the “errors” were his own.

To come, therefore, to the “Remarks”—Mr. Townsend says in the introduction that I lay down this proposition—“that the Memoir is legendary—but that Mr. Townsend adopts and treats the Memoir as genuine and authentic. His inference is, that the Life I have written is of no value.”

I made no such inference. My words are, “the question is simply whether the Memoir of Fox is genuine and authentic, and to be received as an authority. *How far* the value of Mr. Townsend's life of Fox depends on the decision of this question will be obvious to all who read it.” Of course Mr. Townsend's readers cannot help seeing from his numerous quotations and references, *how far* the

Memoir has been used as an authority by him, and *so far*, if that Memoir turns out to be of no authority, the value of the Life will be diminished. There is a great deal in the Life that rests wholly on the Memoir, and must stand or fall with it; a great deal also that has obviously nothing to do with the Memoir, and cannot be affected by anything that may happen to it.

Mr. Townsend proceeds to point out what he calls ten errors; and I will notice them in their order.

1. The first error is little, if anything more than a repetition of what I have already noticed. It is my supposing that Mr. Townsend had treated the Memoir as genuine and authentic.

I answer that, so far as I can judge by what he wrote, *he did so*. I see nothing which should lead me to believe, and in fact I do not believe, that he had *any idea of treating it otherwise* when he wrote the life, or until the publication of my pamphlet. I know that, in one place he was forced to say, "It is impossible to reconcile the discrepancies in this Memoir of Foxe with the facts of his life." Then, of course, would have been the time to express his suspicions if he had had any. A man may say that it is impossible to reconcile certain statements in Eadmer's life of Anselm with the facts (that is, with what, from other sources of information, he supposes to be the facts) of that prelate's life, without in the least degree implying that he doubts the genuineness and authenticity of the work. Mr. Townsend might

do, and it seems to me that he did, the same with regard to Fox. He always, as far as I know, quoted it without a hint of suspicion that it was anything but a document of the highest authority, a genuine work, written in perfectly good faith, by the son of the Martyrologist. Those who look at Mr. Townsend's own language in the *Life* (or even only at the extract from it which I gave in the first part of these notes) will I think acquit me of all error on this point.

2. The "second error is, that because Mr. Townsend has depended upon the *Memoir*, his labours are useless." He adds, "I answer that his premises are unfounded: and therefore his inference is false."

This is much the same thing over again. I have already said that I made no such inference: but when he says the "premises are unfounded," I must ask, whether Mr. Townsend means to deny that, for much which he has given as undisputed truth, he "depended upon the *Memoir*," and the *Memoir* only, without pretending to have any other authority? I do not know what other interpretation can be put on his words; but surely he cannot mean this. Will he have the courage to say plainly what he does mean?

3. As to the grant of arms. We are often furnished with some criterion of a man's own knowledge by the credit which he gives to others for ignorance. If a writer is earnest and elaborate in explaining and enforcing the truth, that two and two make four, we may conjecture that his own arithmetical progression

has not very long, or very far, passed that point. In this light the prattle which Mr. Townsend has published about the Foxs whom he has discovered, while he does not seem ever to have heard of two well-known John Foxs, who were actual contemporaries of the Martyrologist, is very amusing. It requires no answer; but before I proceed to speak of the grant of arms I would offer one remark.

Mr. Townsend says (p. 21), "he alludes to the many years I have been engaged to write the life of Foxe. Does he really believe that I devoted the whole interval between my promise and its performance, to this lucubration; and that I had nothing else to do?" Mr. Townsend is not so happy as always to have such very silly things said of him as he pretends. I said that it seemed to me very remarkable "that one who had been so many years *engaged to write* the life of Fox" should have made such a mistake as to treat the absurd Memoir (I have not yet noticed all the absurdities in which it is implicitly followed by Mr. Townsend) as genuine and authentic. I am as far as possible from believing that Mr. Townsend "employed the whole interval" about the business, or any thing like so much of it as he was bound in honour and conscience, and by his engagement to the publishers and subscribers, to have done. Nothing but his having failed to do this could account for the superficial or erroneous manner in which he treats so many points connected with the subject; and for the gross ignorance which he

has displayed even respecting Fox's printed works. But without charging him with any thing like this devotion to the matter, or imagining that he worked hard every day, or one day in a month, for five years, even in writing a biography so important as he appears to have considered that in which he was engaged, I should have expected that, with the subject in his mind during all those years, he would have been from time to time, and almost without effort, collecting information, such as he evidently wants.

To come however to the grant of arms—Mr. Townsend says that in the document “we find nothing—no, nothing whatever—which can identify the John Foxe to whom the arms were granted with the Martyrologist.” He afterwards adds that it was made “in terms which could be *applicable to any person* of the name of Foxe.” Such an assertion respecting a document which people have before them is enough to make one stare. Has Mr. Townsend read it? or does he suppose that nobody else has? Let us briefly consider the things predicated in the grant respecting John Fox the grantee, and consider their general applicability to all possible John Foxes.

First, Mr. Townsend says that the arms were granted “without one allusion in that grant to the only reason for which the heraldic honour could be conferred.” I ask again, Can Mr. Townsend have read it? Does it not say that the grant was made

"on account of his eminent deserts in regard of the state, on account of his singular patriotism, on account of his eminent services to Elizabeth the most serene Queen of England, both at home and abroad, his virtue and his piety¹?" Whether the grantee was in fact the Martyrologist or not, I think there are some things said here which would not have been "applicable" to all possible John Foxs, while they appear to point out very fairly what really were the Martyrologist's claims (if he had any) to such secular distinction from the Crown. That he was a staunch and zealous Elizabethan is beyond all doubt; and it is almost as certain that he, as well as the other exiles, had the means of advancing the Queen's interests, both while he was abroad and after his return. There may, to be sure, have been another John Fox (a close fellow, I warrant, who did his work so privily that we have never heard of him), who was of more service to Elizabeth and her government than the person whom she is said to have called "Father Fox."

Secondly, John Fox the grantee is said to have been "an ornament of his country" (*patriæ ornementum*). This may be true of any honest yeoman, but I doubt whether heralds always put it in as a matter of course; and whether it would be "applicable to any person of the name of Foxe."

¹ Ob insignia in remp. merita, ob studium in patriam singulare, ob egregiam Divæ Elizabethæ Angliæ reginæ serenissimæ domi forisque navatam operam, virtutis, ac pietatis, &c.

Thirdly, John Fox the grantee was “a pillar of the Church” (*ecclesiæ columen*). This seems to me to narrow the application to those John Foxs who were ecclesiastics.

Fourthly, He was “beloved by the muses and cherished by the graces” (*quem amarunt musæ, charites coluerunt*). This narrows the matter still more, if I am right in supposing it to mean that the grantee was a poet. Surely the heralds do not say this of every clergyman who gets a coat of arms.

Fifthly, As Mr. Townsend suggests no doubt about the date mentioned in the document, I suppose we must narrow the question still more by requiring this ecclesiastical favourite of the Muses, Graces, and Queen Elizabeth, to have been born in 1516; which some persons of the name of Fox certainly were not.

Sixthly, “Princes honoured him, all good men fostered him, and even malice and envy were constrained to respect him” (*principes honestarunt, boni omnes foverunt, ipse livor invidiaque suspexerunt*). Surely after all allowance for heraldic compliment the Rev. John Fox who was born in 1516 must have done something to gain credit with princes, love from good men, and both envy and respect from bad men, which we can hardly suppose, as a matter of course, to have been done by all possible John Foxs.

Seventhly, The grantee was a person whose writings, and whose own sayings and doings com-

mitted to writing, might form a sufficient "monument" to posterity (*scripta ejus dictaque ac facta mandata literis monumento posteris esse possint*). This, even if we do not suppose a verbal allusion to the "Acts and Monuments," is certainly not to be assumed of all other possible John Foxs, or perhaps of any, until some such writings are produced.

Eighthly, These writings of his, and his recorded sayings and doings, were to prove a point respecting the grantee, to which I beg the reader's particular attention, and which the heralds would certainly not think of predicating respecting every John Fox who might come in their way. They were to prove that the grantee could not but have been a person divinely inspired, the subject of a divine afflatus. That there were some who believed this of the martyrologist is highly probable; and this I hope to show more fully in the course of this pamphlet. In the mean time I will just point out the remarkable similarity between the language of this *Grant* and that of the *Memoir*, and I think it can hardly be doubted that one was taken from the other, or both derived from a common source. The former says, "*scripta ejus dictaque ac facta mandata literis, monumento posteris esse possint, nunquam ejuscemodi virum sine afflatu divino extitisse.*" The latter, referring to his prophecy, says, "*Quo facto id illi contigit, quod in tali re contingere necesse fuit, ut qui animum ejus sic penitus defixum in Deo contuebantur, multaque eum et facere et loqui quæ communis probitatis opinionem*

egrederentur, non illum afflatus divini expertem esse crederent."

Let some other John Fox then be brought forward, and make out a better claim to the grant. We will not press him about Cecrops, and Pelops, and the rest of the heathen crew, but let him explain how these more personal things came to be said of him. Perhaps, too, he will explain to us why the crest assigned to him was a Lion holding a book, and whether that book is (as Mr. Townsend so quietly assumes) a bible, or a book of martyrs. Until such a person is produced we shall be apt to believe that the language of the grant, and the device of the crest, apply to a certain John Fox whom we know, and whom, on other grounds, we suppose to have been born about the year 1516, to have been personally known to, and particularly favoured by, the sovereign by whom the grant was made, whom his friends considered an ornament of the country and a pillar of the church, whom princes honoured, whose "Acts and Monuments" are in fact his monument to posterity, and whom his friends believed to be endowed with superhuman powers and divine inspiration.

Thus I had reasoned from what appear to me to be particular points of application, sufficient, not merely to contradict, but to make us wonder at, Mr. Townsend's bold assertion. To expose this, and as some apology for having previously believed what I think I may say now turns out to be true beyond all

dispute, I let it stand. That John Fox the Martyrologist was the person meant in this grant (whether its issue was regular or irregular, and whensoever and by whomsoever it was penned) seems to me to be placed beyond all doubt by the fact, proved by a visitation-book in the College of Arms, that Sir Richard Willis, who married the great-granddaughter of the Martyrologist, bore those arms in an escutcheon of pretence. "Dame Alice Willys," as she is called at p. 205 of Mr. Townsend's Life, was, as she is there stated to have been, (though I must be allowed to say that I had found it out before, and am not stealing one of Mr. Townsend's discoveries,) the "only daughter and sole executrix," in fact she was the only child, of Dr. Thomas Fox, the eldest Son of Samuel, the eldest Son of John the Martyrologist, and therefore the representative and heiress of that branch of the family.

It seems to me that I have been in no error on this point. Will Mr. Townsend acknowledge any?

4. Mr. Townsend says;—

"4. The fourth error of Mr. Maitland is, *the deduction of an argument for the spuriousness of the Memoir, from the manner in which its writer spells the name of Foze in Latin.* He spells it with an i; thus—Foxius, and not Foxus, which last was the manner of spelling adopted both by Foze himself and his contemporaries."

Such gross misapprehension can scarcely be affected; and I give Mr. Townsend credit for having written in so much wrath and haste that he really

did not understand my argument, though to me it appears very simple. It is merely this—that though other people might latinize the name of Fox in one way or another, yet John Fox himself and his son Samuel always made it *Forus*, and not *Foxius*, as the writer of the Memoir does; and for this reason, among others, it seems as if the Memoir had not been written by Samuel Fox. How is this “proved to be an error, from two considerations: the first is, that in that age persons spelt the same name many different ways”

“But the second consideration is, that the manuscripts, now remaining in the Harleian Collection (which this trifler ought to have inspected before he thus reasoned), abound in instances in which the Latin name of Fox, or Foxe, is spelled with an i, as well as without?” What answer is it to my argument to tell me that the Harleian Catalogue-Maker, and some of the persons whose papers he catalogued, chose to write *Foxius*, if John Fox and his Son always wrote *Forus*? The trifler, and something worse, is the person who accumulates at secondhand from a catalogue a show of irrelevant references to prove what nobody disputes. I hope I do not exceed the just limits of self-defence, or approximate to Mr. Townsend’s unhappy egotism, if I express my belief that long before his book was published, I had inspected, not merely the catalogue of the Harleian Collection, but the original of every document in it to which he has referred.

Certainly, as Mr. Townsend says, I spoke of "the large mass to which Strype refers, under the title of 'Foxii MSS.:'" and, as he says, I did it without perceiving in it any "demonstration" about the matter. Neither do I see any now. It may show that Strype latinized *Fox* by *Foxius*, but how does that affect the fact, which Mr. Townsend dares not dispute, that John Fox himself, and his Son the reputed Author of the Memoir, never wrote *Foxius* but always *Foxus*? And having thus occasion to refer to these Foxian MSS. I publicly ask Mr. Townsend *how much* of that "large mass" he *had* "inspected," and whether he did not publish his life of Fox *without ever having seen any one of them*?

5. Mr. Townsend says;—

"5. Mr. Maitland's fifth error is, *the inference that the Memoir is proved to be spurious, because it is there said that John Foxe was eleven years writing his Martyrology*. Mr. Maitland declares this to be a statement *so monstrous, that he wonders how any body could have written it*; and he is pleased, though in a dubious rather than in a courteous manner, to compliment my sagacity, at the expense of my lucubrations, by expressing his astonishment, that *even Mr. Townsend would read it without suspicion*."

I meant no compliment to Mr. Townsend in any way; but merely to state my surprise that even a writer obviously thoughtless, and careless, could help seeing something which appeared to be so plain. This opinion which I had formed of his recklessness is fully borne out by the very paragraph now quoted.

At least I am willing to ascribe it to this, rather than to any thing worse, (joined however, I must add, to an ignorance of his subject which prevented his being aware of the force of my statement,) that he has so misrepresented what I said. At the same time he has an odd way of stripping an argument of its clothes and stuffing them with straw, and then he deals notably with the thing that he has made, and is, I suppose, gratified by the applause of those bystanders who are blinded by the dust, and imagine from his triumphant outcries that he is doing something very valiant.

If there were an anonymous book now published purporting to be a Life of Mr. Townsend, and ascribed to his own son, in which it was stated that he had been thirty years engaged upon an epic poem, I might (if he had not told me so in this very pamphlet, and if I had not been acquainted with his history and proceedings somewhat longer than that) feel some surprise; but I should not think that it threw suspicion on the authorship of the Life. It might be written by his son; and his son, one would think, must know. If however it told us that Mr. Townsend had been thirty years writing a poem which he began to write soon after he went to reside at Durham, I should be apt to say, "Surely this cannot be written by his son; he must know his father's history better than that." I said what is perfectly analogous of John Fox's son. My words out of which Mr.

Townsend has picked his statement were, "he tells us that Fox *began* his Martyrology at Basil², and was *eleven years* writing it,—a statement so monstrous, that one wonders how any body could have written it, and how even Mr. Townsend could read it without suspicion." The statement *is* monstrous; and Mr. Townsend no more believes it than I do. It seems to me a strong ground for believing that the Memoir was not written by Fox's son, but by somebody more ignorant of the Martyrologist's history than we can possibly suppose his son to have been.

But it may be right to look a little further at this matter of the eleven years; for, since Mr. Townsend published his "Remarks," he has repeated his statement, and I engaged to notice it. (See p. 93, *post.*)

There can be little doubt that Mr. Townsend was led to specify this period of eleven years, by the rambling legend of which I have already had occasion to say so much, and of which I may perhaps find occasion to say more hereafter; for its absurdities are

² The passages in the Memoir on which I grounded this statement are as follows, "I have showed before that Mr. Fox *first applied himself to write the history of the Church whilst he was at Basil.*" The fact being that he had *published* what is commonly called the first edition at *Strasburg*, before he went to *Frankfort*, and therefore, of course, before he went to *Basil*. The passage referred to is I suppose that which I have quoted in p. 16 of No. I. of these notes;—"His industry may be from hence abundantly testified; that being so full of employment at Basil, *there nevertheless he began to write his history,*" &c.

not yet fully exposed. The Memoir-writer tells us not only, as I have shown in the note, that Fox began to write his history after he went to Basil, but he also says: "I find by the author's own notes, that in the *eleventh* year after he began to write it, the work was finished" (*undecimo quam scribi cœptum est anno finitum opus fuisse ex commentariis authoris reperio*).

This Mr. Townsend seems to have considered as warranting the following strong language:—

"Eleven years were *carefully and anxiously devoted*" [not merely had the project been formed, and the thing been in hand, all that time, as Mr. Townsend gives us to understand of his poem and his Life of Fox] "to the arrangement of the materials which were transmitted to him from all quarters, in examining the registries of the Bishops" [specially Gardiner's and Bonner's I suppose] "and other authentic records of the facts and events *he was to relate*; and in collecting the various documents essential to the perfecting of the work." Vol. i. p. 28.

Here are eleven years of preparation, with a stir which almost throws our Ecclesiastical Commission into the shade; but it is—I am sure the word is not too harsh—rigmarole.

If, in conformity with popular language on the subject, and with that absence of information which influenced Mr. Townsend when he wrote what I have just quoted, we call the *Strasburg* book in Latin the *first* edition, the *Basil* book in Latin the

second edition, and the *London* book in English the *third* edition, the case stands thus;—the prefatory letter in the *first* is dated the 31 Aug. 1554, and the colophon of the *third* is dated 20 March 1563—that is, the *printing* of the bulky folio was finished on that day; it being rather more than eight years and a half since the preface to the first edition was sent to the press. But then, of course, we may fill up eleven years, or any length of time, by saying that Fox had been two years and a half, or twenty years and a half, collecting matter for the “already prepared manuscript,” with which he travelled to Strasburg. Or if we do not like to take the time at that end of the matter, why not at the other? Why are we to consider the writing of the book as extending to the third, and only to the third, edition? Why not to the fourth, which would add seven years more? Why say eleven years? Just because Mr. Townsend did not know the books of which he was writing, or their history, and implicitly followed the absurd Memoir that said something about “eleven” years, which, having echoed it in pure ignorance, he now thinks himself called on to defend.

It is only justice to Fox to rescue him from his merciless vindicator, by stating what is obvious to those who know these three volumes, which Mr. Townsend appears *never to have seen*. It may be true that Fox travelled to Strasburg with an “already prepared manuscript.” Perhaps he carried it in his waistcoat pocket, as he certainly might do in regard

of bulk ; and perhaps, before he had been there a week, the Pope had picked his pocket of it, for somehow or other he seems to have lost it before the printers wanted it. Mr. Townsend tells us (on what authority I know not, for I cannot imagine that he had seen it) that the work "exhibits no signs of having been hastily written".³ Of course there is no reason why such a little thing should exhibit signs of haste if so great a part of the eleven years had been "carefully and anxiously devoted" to its compilation, and it was "already prepared" when he arrived at Strasburg. But what is Fox's own account of his little book ? He is full of apology for the tumultuary haste in which it was got up. The printers were so urgent to get it in time for Frankfort fair, that he had less than two months allowed for arranging, transcribing, and composing from a mass of rough, undigested notes ; and this he was obliged to do, an exile from his country, unable to refer to the books and registers from which such matters might have been more fully stated ; this too in such time as he could gain from his daily employment of correcting the press, to say nothing of his want of health ; his only apology (and a very sufficient one if it were not for the bombast exaggeration of his ignorant admirers) was, that he had done his best under the circumstances. Certainly the hurry in which the book was made, if it did not injure the style, led to some

³ Life of Fox, p. 76.

errors in printing. One will be observed in the passage which I quote below ⁴, and a more gross one stares us in the face on the title-page, where we read that the book was printed in M.D.LXIII. instead of M.D.LIIII.

As to the second edition (Basil, 1559), Mr. Townsend tells us, "while therefore he continued to correct the press for Oporinus, he devoted all his leisure to the *reconstruction* of his ecclesiastical history ⁵." He could not have selected language more clearly demonstrating his ignorance of the two books. The Strasburg book, with scarcely any alteration except one or two additions, and with nothing in the world like "reconstruction" during the "carefully and anxiously devoted" years which elapsed between 1554 and 1559, (the bombast magnificence of which

⁴ After expressing the probability that he may pursue the subject, he says, "Interim habes hic (lector christiane) priorem hujus historiæ seriem, a Millesimo trecentesimo ad quingentesimum, qualicumque penicillo nostro deliniatum, in qua si ob tumultuariam festinationem non satis videbimur functi officio nostro: Aliud nihil respondeo quam Socraticum illud ex Xenophonte præstitisse me καὶ δύναμιν [*sic*]. Neque enim in aliena patria exulanti suppetebat ad manum parata librorum ac registorum copia unde plenius ista desumerentur. Rursus nec amplius bimestri spacio ante nundinas Francfordianas mihi concedebatur adhæc ex rudi ac informi sylvula recolligenda, digerenda, rescribenda, ac componenda etiam pleraque præter quotidianas insuper formularum typographicarum castigationes, ut nihil dicam de valetudine," &c. p. 204, b.

⁵ Life of Fox, p. 116.

has now shrunk into the "leisure" of a man earning bread for himself and his family as a corrector in a printing-office,) forms the first book of the Basil edition, and with those additions occupies but 118 out of the 732 pages which the Basil book contains. And what does Fox himself say about *this* portion of the eleven "carefully and anxiously devoted years?" Truly he has as much apology to make for tumultuary haste now, as he had before. He was obliged to break off the dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, because, as Mr. Townsend translates, "both printers and markets were urgent⁶," or, more properly, because the printers were in a hurry to get it ready for Frankfort fair, which was coming on⁷; and in his notice "Ad Lectorem" he expresses his regret that he had been prevented from giving due care and labour in digesting and arranging the matter of his volume, both by the "temporum ratio" (a phrase which I do not pretend to explain) and by the urgency of the printers⁸. But his cruel vindicator will have none of these excuses.

Now let us see what the Martyrologist says of the

⁶ Life of Fox, p. 122.

⁷ "Volebam præterea de iis apud te multo plura, sed vix dieculæ pars mihi ad compellendam sublimitatem tuam dabatur, ita festinabant typographi, et urgebant nundinæ."

⁸ "Illud doluit, in recognoscendis istis et perpoliendis justam nobis operam curamque defuisse. Sic enim urgebant cum temporum ratio, tum duo pariter typographi, alter Basiliensis, qui latine imprimeret, alter Genevensis, qui Gallicam etiam hujus historiæ editionem efflagitabat." P. 1.

English, or third, edition. In his prefatory address "ad doctum Lectorem" he says that some persons had complained of his having been so long bringing it out, and is anxious to describe the tumultuary haste in which, as on both the previous occasions, the book was got up and published. He had been forced, he tells us, to huddle it up in a space of scarcely eighteen months, and with a degree of haste such as he acknowledges to be very unfit for such a performance¹. Why may not Fox have the benefit of these apologies, which every body must see that his work really wants and every fair critic will be willing to

¹ "Deinde si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminert, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam esse festinationem oportere; et bos dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili nostra; egimus spero et pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expedite, at egimus certe pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin et illud ipsorum venia adjudicare liceat, egisse nos maturius quam ipsis forsan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certe maturatius egimus quam tanti momenti et magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat; cum a nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ historiæ, et in ordinem redigendæ, etc. noverint ii qui testes adfuerunt, et temporis conscii, et laboris socii."—New Edition, Vol. i. p. 506.

Why, had he not been carefully and anxiously and devotedly employed in these very things for eleven years? When ignorance and a turn for rhodomontade unite, what work they make with plain facts!

give it? Why must his drummers and trumpeters go forth bragging that "eleven years were carefully and anxiously devoted" to the work, when the author modestly and apologetically tells us it was "so hastily rashed up at that present, in such shortnesse of time, as in the sayde booke thou mayest see (gentle reader) declared and signified ²."

Can any one who has read only what I have extracted from Fox respecting his work conceive of any thing more trifling and absurd than Mr. Townsend's calculation that there are nearly six thousand pages in the new edition? "If we omit the Sundays, and a few holidays, or days of unavoidable interruption, from the days of eleven years, the work would have been completed in eleven years, at the rate of two large closely-printed pages per day. The slow rate at which a large work proceeds may be learned from the interesting criticisms of Dr. Johnson, on the progress of Pope's translation of Homer ³." There is something pleasant in comparing these two works, because they are both large. Of course a large work is a large work; but I suspect that the editor of the Times can "rash up" matter for his large work more easily, and more rapidly, than Mr. Townsend can for his epic poem, and one reason may be that a great part consists of documents composed and fur-

² Edition, 1583, p. 702. The Editor of the new edition, not knowing, I suppose, what to make of "rashed up," has turned it into "raked up." Vol. iii. p. 704.

³ Remarks, p. 11.

nished by others. What an idea does Mr. Townsend's suggestion give us of his knowledge of the work respecting which he is writing? What notion has he of the *material* of which Fox's Martyrology consists, and of the proportion for which, as original composition, Fox was responsible?

6. Mr. Townsend's "Remarks" on this point—the identity of the Tracts "De lapsis" and "De non morte plectendis," are I hope sufficiently answered in my letter to the John Bull which I have already given, at page 7 of this pamphlet.

7. Mr. Townsend says;—

"7. Mr. Maitland's seventh error would be denominated by writers less gentle, mild, and bland, than myself, by another epithet. Mr. Maitland has made a positive affirmation, which is decidedly and most exceedingly erroneous. He has not insinuated, he has dared to affirm *that Mr. Townsend has himself made a confusion about Foxe's two editions of his Latin Book printed abroad*; and he adds, '*it may be as well to say, that the writing of the work was begun in England, that it was first printed at Strasburg in 1554, and reprinted at Basil in 1559.*'

The first of these sentences is a '*very remarkable one.*' If Mr. Maitland will turn to page 75 of my Life of Foxe, which he is condescending to criticize, he will find, that I have made no confusion whatever. I have distinctly said in *page 76*, that the first edition of Foxe's work was published at Strasburg, in 1554, and in *page 116* I give also an account of his Latin edition printed at Basil, in 1559. Yet Mr. Maitland declares, and publishes his declaration to the world, that I have confounded these two editions."

Other people, and Mr. Townsend too, may describe my statement as they please, but it is undoubtedly

true. I have "dared to affirm," and I dare to maintain, that Mr. Townsend has "made a confusion about Foxe's two editions of his Latin book printed abroad." I believe that when he wrote the life of Fox he had never seen either of them, and was so entirely ignorant of the difference between the little octavo and the large folio, as to take it for granted that what one contained, the other did; while as I have already said, all (and more than all) the octavo is contained in the first 118 of the 732 pages of the folio. He not only thus confounded them as to their contents, but he *twice* gave the title of the *second* instead of, and believing it to be, the title of the *first*. This I have stated more particularly in a note appended to my "Remarks on Mr. Cattley's defence of his edition," which note I now reprint⁴.

Mr. Townsend's complaint that he is robbed of his discoveries is only worthy of notice as showing what sort of things he considers as discoveries. It will be obvious that I was not speaking of a discovery at all, (certainly, if I had, I was not indebted to Mr. Townsend for it,) but of what I supposed to be a fact well known, and one which the reader should have clearly before him, but respecting which he might have been in some degree puzzled by Mr. Townsend's mistakes, if he had read his erroneous accounts of the titles of the two editions, and his self-contradictory statements of the date of the first.

⁴ See Note A. p. 39, forward.

8. The eighth charge I really do not understand. It is in these words :—

"8. The eighth error in Mr. Maitland's notes is—the intimation that I have omitted to affirm that Foxe remained on the Continent some time after the accession of Elizabeth."

I intimated nothing of the sort. I said that the author of the Memoir showed his ignorance of facts by stating that Fox brought home a mere outline of his history, filled it up, and sent it to Basil to be printed; while it was amongst the clearest things in Fox's history, that he remained abroad, after most of his companions had returned, to superintend the printing. I said nothing, and meant nothing, about Mr. Townsend, as any body who chooses may see. His talk about discoveries is too childish. I am not aware that I am indebted to Mr. Townsend for the slightest particle of knowledge respecting Fox; and he may rest assured (and others will, I am sure, believe, after what I have exposed) that I should be very shy of appropriating any "discovery" of his. I repeat, that his charge is wholly unintelligible, and has, I believe, arisen entirely from some misunderstanding, originated by the hasty and wrathful manner in which he has read my notes.

9. The ninth charge is that relating to Sir Thomas Lucy, and I hope that it is sufficiently answered in my letter to the John Bull. It is hardly necessary to reply to the silly and evasive question, whether it was not "usual to call the heads of Knightly, or honourable, or large-landed families by that title,

whether they were actually created Knights or not ?” but it ought to be noticed as giving some idea of Mr. Townsend’s acquaintance with the language, the literature, and the state of things in the times

When Sir Knight and Sir Priest thought it did not demean them

To have but one dish, and one title, between them.

How much can he who asks such a question know of what ought to be familiar to the biographer of Fox ?

Mr. Townsend says, “I am accused of supposing that the title of Knight was hereditary. I have made no such supposition.” I presume that he refers to my statement that his letter was “written under the misconception that there was an hereditary title in the family.” So, I still believe, it was ; for on what other ground did he call William Lucy “*Sir William*,” than that he was the *son* of *Sir Thomas* the elder ? on what other ground than such a supposition of hereditary title did he erroneously tell us that young Thomas Lucy “*became Sir Thomas*” in 1550, than because his father died in that year ? It is plain that Mr. Townsend *did* believe that the title *descended* from father to son as a matter of course, and it would have been better, if not to have acknowledged such a common piece of ignorance, to have let it pass, rather than to provoke farther notice of it by so poor an evasion.

But yet we see that if we were to grant Mr. Townsend that William Lucy was called *Sir* because he was “large-landed” or large-bodied, or for any

other reason, or no reason, it would not satisfy him, for he also argues that "the Memoir of his son is right in speaking of his reception into the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, even though he was received by the father of his pupil Sir Thomas, that is, by Sir William Lucy." So that this *Sir* William, whom Mr. Townsend has created for the special purpose, is not enough to satisfy his conscience, and he must bring in Thomas Lucy who, was at a later time of his life *Sir*, and *Thomas*, and a *Knight*—three things distinctly required by the Memoir, but not one of which can be predicated of William Lucy, Esquire.

Let us see then how this is made out. "We say," says Mr. Townsend, "that the Duke of Wellington won the battle of Assaye in India; whereas the illustrious holder of that title was Arthur Wellesley only at that time." [Was not he "Honourable?"—I beg pardon, but Mr. Townsend should give honour where honour is due, especially where he is standing up for hereditary honours. What will the Duke think of him?] "We speak of the Bishop of Chester's work, the 'Records of Creation' whereas he was only Mr. Sumner" [not "Reverend?" for shame, Mr. Townsend] "when that work was published," p. 17.

One cannot help laughing at this; but it should perhaps be treated more seriously, considering the misrepresentation which it contains. The reader is meant to reply to it, "Yes, I see that a biographer

might not very unnaturally say that at a certain time a person went to be tutor to the Duke of Wellington, or to the Bishop of Chester, meaning only that he went to be tutor to two children who afterwards became respectively a duke and a bishop, and not dreaming that anybody would suppose him to mean that he went to tutorize them after they had 'acceded' to those titles, everybody knowing that they did not obtain them while they were at all *in statu pupillari*; and the biographer of Fox might as naturally say that he went to be tutor to Sir Thomas Lucy, meaning only that he went to be a tutor to a child who was afterwards Sir Thomas Lucy." All this is very true. A biographer *might* have said this, and if he *had*, Mr. Townsend's illustration would have been fair. But what *did* the biographer say? *Did Mr. Townsend know?* and with the words of the Memoir before him how could he write as he has done? The biographer did *not* say that Fox went to instruct Sir Thomas Lucy, but, on the contrary, expressly and distinctly that he went to instruct Sir Thomas Lucy's children. "God's Providence began to show itself, procuring him a safe refuge in the house of a worshipful Knight of Warwickshire, called Sir Thomas Lucy, to whom he was sent for, to instruct his children."

10. "His tenth and greatest error," says Mr. Townsend, "therefore is that I can be guilty of personal meanness."

The absurd boasting with which Mr. Townsend

attempts to meet the charge is too contemptible for notice; but he must not be allowed to misstate facts as to the controversy, whatever he may do respecting himself. He says,

"10. The tenth error requires more especial notice.

In consequence of the manner in which Mr. Maitland had assailed the new edition of the Acts and Monuments, the publishers accused him of entertaining a '*personal dislike*' to the work. Instead of disavowing the sentiment, Mr. Maitland, with more candour than propriety, adopts it as his own. He did so, according to his own words, '*to express a dislike to the book itself, as distinguished from a simple disapprobation of their particular edition of it.*' In my preface, I sincerely, openly, boldly, and unsparingly censured Mr. Maitland for this conduct. This, my censure, he calls descending to personal meanness. His tenth, and his greatest error, therefore, is, *that I can be guilty of personal meanness.*"

It is true that the publisher said, and I said, what is here stated; but it is not true that on account of Mr. Townsend's censuring me for what I said, I charged him with meanness. Of course any such charge would have been absurd. The meanness with which I charged Mr. Townsend was, the picking up the words "personal dislike," improperly used at first respecting the *book* by the publishers, but at which, knowing what they meant, I did not cavil, and taking occasion by the repetition of them to convey the idea that I professed, and gloried, in a hatred against Fox himself, and was therefore a person who ought in return to be hated by all good men. Mr. Townsend has had, I imagine, too little to do with contro-

versy to be aware how common such tricks are, and how constantly those who find them out for themselves, think that they have been very clever, and hit upon a very lucky invention. But in fact it does not answer, because with all persons whose suffrage is worth having, it is seen to be one of the low arts of controversy avoided by respectable writers, and hated as well as despised by those who are really in search of truth.

There is, however, in Mr. Townsend's bombast egotism one thing beside its general tone, of which I must say a few words. He talks very grandly about presuming, and daring to insult him, and threatens that in case of my doing so he will "write no more replies." I beg to assure him, both that I have no wish to insult him, and that I do not care whether he writes or not. My object is, not to annoy him, but to promote a greater love of truth, and more exact search after it, especially as it regards that golden thread which runs through the varied web of time, the history of the Christian Church. This cannot be done while party is to publish its misstatements, and ignorance to shoot its bolts, at random. They must be resisted and exposed, and, if it please God, I will resist and expose them. I hope without the use of low arts, without taking advantage of the ignorance or passion of unlearned readers, and without personal insult to those who think fit to pursue a different course.

NOTE A, referred to at p. 32.

"As I have already said, the question whether Fox copied from Illyricus, and indeed the whole question of his use of authorities, belongs to Mr. Townsend rather than to Mr. Cattley; but as the latter gentleman has chosen to enter on it, and, in fact, it is the only thing in his "Defence" which seems to require any answer from me, I have thought it best to reply to it in these Remarks, and to say something respecting Mr. Townsend's notice of the subject in a note. It is rather a curious circumstance, that just after I had written what is in the text, a friend came into my room, took up the volume, and, while I was engaged about something else, read the following passage, with its note, from p. 234.

"With respect, however, to the accusation that Foxe borrowed his account of the Waldenses from Illyricus, an examination of the facts of the case would rather make us believe that Illyricus and Foxe both borrowed from some common document. With respect also to the supposition—that Illyricus, rather than Foxe, is entitled to the appellation of founder of that school of church history, which made the holy Catholic Church, not necessarily identified with the church of Rome—there appears to be sufficient evidence to render it very probable, that *Illyricus was indebted to Foxe, rather than Foxe to Illyricus.*

"In the year 1554, Foxe, as we have seen, made his escape from the anticipated persecutions of Mary, taking with him the manuscripts and collectanea, which enabled him to publish his first edition of the History of the Church, at Strasburg *. The Catalogus Testium of M. F. Illyricus was printed in 1556, two years after the publication of the first edition of the work of Foxe. The Martyrologist, therefore, is not likely to have borrowed from Illyricus."

"* See Watts's Bibliotheca, vol. i. p. 383. The book was published under this title:—'Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosissimis temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, et Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insigniora exempla sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes.'—8vo. Strasburg, 1554."

Without knowing what I had just been writing about Fox's copying from Illyricus, he was induced to read this note to me,

by his not being able to satisfy himself respecting the Latin ; and in particular, the *digesti* appeared to disagree with him, as, indeed, it seemed as if there was nothing with which it would or could agree. Perhaps, being a Fellow of the noble College of which Mr. Townsend still writes himself a member, he was scandalized at what bore such marks of ignorance. Be this as it may, in my own mind the effect was different. So many new ideas were raised, that I hardly know which I thought of first. It was very amazing to find the biographer and vindicator of Fox, after years of travail, going to such an authority as Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica for the title of the *editio princeps* of his great work, the only one by which he is known. Stranger still, that he should be so satisfied with such a barbarous and ungrammatical title as to print and publish it. Yet more wonderful, that he should allow himself to be put off with the title of the *second* edition, instead of the very different title of the *first*. Most marvellous of all, that he should, with innocent and ignorant simplicity, not only imagine, but ground an argument on the assumption, that what I quoted from the English edition, was, as a matter of course, in the Latin edition of 1554. His argument implies and absolutely requires this ignorance ; for it is simply, that Fox, who published in 1554, could not borrow from a book published in 1556¹.

I did not enter much into the subject with my friend ; but as both the *first* and *second* editions were in the room, it was easy to show him that Mr. Townsend, while looking for the title of the *first* edition (Strasburg, 1554), had been put off with a faulty copy of the title of the *second* (Basil, 1559), which is as follows ;—

“Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his tempo-

¹ The absurdity of this assumption, and the ignorance which it displays of the small beginning and gradual increase of Fox's work, may be made apparent to those who have never seen the books, by stating that my copy of Fox, from which, I presume, I copied the account of the Waldenses, weighs eighteen pounds ; the little Strasburg book of 1554 (which was printed before the book of Illyricus, and which, it was taken for granted, contained all that the others did) does not weigh eleven ounces.

ribus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insignioris exempli sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes commentarii. Pars prima, in qua primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis, atque in primis de horrenda sub Maria nuper regina, persecutione, narratio continetur. Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basileæ, per Nicolaum Brylingerum et Joannem Oporinum."

The title of the Strasburg book, if Mr. Townsend had happened to know it, would, perhaps, have saved this exposure of his ignorance; for it clearly professes to begin its history from and after the time of Wicliffe; and, therefore, it might have been suspected that it did not contain the history of the Waldenses. It is as follows:—

"Chronicon Ecclesiæ, continens historiam rerum gestarum maximarumque per totam Europam Persecutionum a Vviclevi temporibus usque ad nostram ætatem. Authore Joanne Foxo. Hiis in calce accesserunt Aphorismi Joannis Vviclevi cum collectaneis quibusdam Reginaldi Pecoki Episcopi Cicesterensis. Item Οπιστογραφία quædam ad Oxonienses. Argentorati. Excudebat Josias Richelius. Anno M.D.LXIII." [erroneously for M.D.LIIII.]

These titles I showed to my friend; and, when he was gone, I thought it would be right to append to what I had written some sort of reply to this broad charge of ignorance, which Mr. Townsend had seen fit to make against me on the strength of what he is pleased to call "an examination of the facts of the case." It is obviously the plain sort of charge which is comprehended and remembered and repeated by every body. "Only think how stupid and ignorant in Mr. Maitland to charge Fox with copying from a book in 1554, that which was not published till 1556." Those who would not pretend to give an opinion on the general question, could see this plain enough. Such advantage bold ignorance always has in controversy; and it is only by patient exposure that it can be met. But my friend had shut the book, and I was too little acquainted with it to know where to find the note which he had been reading.

In turning over the leaves, however, I found another note on p. 288.

"Since I wrote my remarks on Mr. Dowling, who considers Illyricus and

not Foxe to be the father of ecclesiastical history, I have procured the collation of the first edition of Foxe's work, published in 1556, with that of 1559, and with Illyricus, and find that I have been misled in the supposition, that the account of the Waldenses was in that edition. It first appeared in 1559, after the Catalogue of Illyricus had been published; not before, as I had been informed."

When Mr. Townsend found out his mistake, did not common honesty require him to make some kind of reference to his contradiction of my suggestion, and his argument founded upon it? Let it pass. How long after the other note this one was written, I cannot tell; but I presume, that if it had not been after the former note was actually in print, that note would not have appeared. It seems, therefore, to show, that up to the time when the former note was in print, and probably up to the present moment, Mr. Townsend's acquaintance with the two first editions of the Martyrology is simply derived from what he calls "a collation," received after the first note was printed, and bearing very suspicious marks of having been furnished by his kinsman, or some of his unhappy "amanuenses," who are continually performing such works of art as turning 1554 into 1556, and other little things which cavillers lay hold of.

But really, in writing this note, I am very much in the condition in which Mr. Townsend has been while writing his contributions to Fox; that is, in the predicament of a school-boy who is learning his lesson while he is saying it; for almost every word of the preceding lines had been written when I most accidentally opened the book at p. 76, where Mr. Townsend says of Fox:—

"The first part of his great work was published at Strasburg, after he left Frankfort, and before he arrived at Basil. These circumstances enable us to ascertain that the materials must have been collected, and the MS. prepared, during his residence in Reigate. It exhibits no signs of having been hastily written, as it must have been if it had been prepared while he was travelling on the continent. It was written in Latin. Its title was 'Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, a Wiclefi temporibus usque ad annum M.D.' and was published at Strasburg, 1554, towards the end of which year the author probably left England. It contains the ecclesiastical history of two hundred years; and it was as copious an account of that most interesting period as any which had then been published."

It will be observed, that in this *earlier* notice Mr. Townsend speaks critically, and gives us his opinion of the book as if he was acquainted with it. But if so, how could he give such an erroneous account of its title? In the errata, however, referring to the first sentence of it, we find the following notice:—

“This is not quite correct. The *Commentarii* were published in 1554, and therefore before he had left Frankfort², as is said in the previous sentence. See p. 80.”

And when we turn to p. 80, we find that “he proceeded by slow stages to Strasburg, where he committed to the press the first part of his labours,” and on it the following note:—

“The book was printed in Latin under the title, ‘*Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei, per Regna et Nationes.*’ Strasburg. 1554. 8vo.”

Here is another blundering, ungrammatical extract from the title of the *second* edition, given as the title of the first edition, and referred to with confidence and complacency in the table of “*Addenda et Corrigenda*,” which we may suppose to contain the most mature fruits of Mr. Townsend’s research.

² This is not the place for criticism on the biographical part of Mr. Townsend’s contributions; but they partake of an infirmity which I have had occasion to remark upon in the work to which they are prefixed; namely, that in quoting a passage to set right one mistake, one is too often obliged either to notice, or to seem to acquiesce in, one or two others of a different kind. Mr. Townsend’s attempt to correct a very gross and ignorant misstatement, is itself an error quite as gross, if not more so. He says, that Fox “probably” left England at “the *end*” of the year 1554; when, if he had known this first edition, the style of which he criticises, he would have seen that the prefatory epistle was dated from Strasburg, 31st August, 1554; and Fox’s complaint, that the bookseller’s anxiety to be in time for the fair had allowed him only two months to prepare the volume, seems to intimate that he had been there during at least that period: “*Rursus nec amplius bimestri spatio ante nundinas Franckfordianas mihi concedebatur ad hæc ex rudi ac informi sylvula recolligenda*,” p. 206. *b*. But the important point to be observed is, that the Strasburg book was *not* printed “after he left Frankfort,” nor “before he had left Frankfort,” except inasmuch as it was printed before he went to Frankfort at all. Whether he accompanied his booksellers

This is a strange way of writing biography, especially the life of a man whose life would probably never have been written at all, but for the work of which his biographer so blunders the title and confounds the editions.

Perhaps some where or other in Mr. Townsend's contributions there is (I believe there ought to be) another note telling his readers that his correction in the note on p. 288 is a blunder, and that the account of the Waldenses is no more in the edition of 1559 than in that of 1554."—*Remarks on Mr. Cattley's Defence*, p. 75.

to the fair, I know not, but I believe the first proof of his being there is his signature to a letter written at Frankfort, dated the 3rd December, (Troub. of Fr. p. xxv.) and he seems to have remained at Frankfort until Aug. 31, 1555, when, adhering to the more violent party in the schism which took place, he seceded with them; or, to use the language of the 'Troubles of Frankfort,' "The oppressed church departed from Frankfort to Basil and Geneva, some staying at Basil, as Maister Fox with other," p. LIX.

LETTERS, &c.

RELATING TO THIS CONTROVERSY, REPRINTED FROM
THE BRITISH MAGAZINE.

ALMOST all the foregoing pages were written very shortly after the appearance of Mr. Townsend's pamphlet, and while a correspondence was carrying on between us in the British Magazine. Mr. Townsend having signified his determination not to continue that correspondence, I think it right to collect the letters, and reprint them, not only for the sake of placing them in a more convenient and permanent form, but in the hope that they may be seen by some of the subscribers to the new edition of Fox who have not read them in the magazine, and that from those who have, they may obtain the advantage of being read in immediate succession. With the same view I add also some letters which have passed between Mr. Cattley and myself in the same magazine.

I.

FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR DECEMBER, 1841.

“MR. TOWNSEND, of Durham, and his kinsman, Mr. Cattley, have at length brought out the first volume of their edition of Fox's Martyrology ; and the announcement that a supplementary

volume is to be published, containing 'between two hundred and three hundred cancel leaves,' for the benefit of the subscribers, who are first to pay for these cancel leaves, and then to pull their volumes to pieces, and insert them instead of pages of which even the parties who published them are now ashamed, will perhaps be considered as an evidence that some of the blunders pointed out in this Magazine were not merely the inventions of an enemy or the microscopic discoveries of hypercriticism.

It is not, however, my wish to occupy the pages of this work with what I may feel called upon to write in this controversy; but as to what concerns itself, it is of course the natural organ of reply. If on no other consideration, the reference which I have made to 'W. B.,' in the reprint of my letters, would make it my duty to defend him from such insolent abuse published in a work to which he seems to have been so lucky as not to be a subscriber, and which, as I know of no other way of addressing him, might therefore escape his notice. In 'The defence of this Edition by the Editor' Mr. Cattley says—

"Having said thus much, the Editor has only to add, that the first volume of this edition needs no defence. That it is perhaps open to attacks by some critics, that it will be attacked by others, is a subject which concerns him not at all. And now, without taking a survey of each individual volume, he would rather turn his attention to some of those observations which have been offered by certain ready scribes, touching the errors and oversights which exist in the second and succeeding volumes. The first attack may be briefly disposed of. The Editor refers to a letter in the *British Magazine* of October, 1837. In this, a writer signing himself 'W. B.¹' brings a direct charge of carelessness in collating the various editions, nay, of actually omitting some of the text of Foxe. The charge made is relative to the history of John Browne, a martyr. Now, there is no point which has been more attended to in the editorial department, than that of collation. The Editor is ready to adhere to this as his stronghold². He therefore felt at once that there was a positive falsehood, a wilful error, contained in this correspondent's remark.

¹ Page 404 of that journal.

² This excepts the first volume, for reasons before alleged, and other acknowledged alterations.

Few men who had so patiently and minutely investigated, collated, compared, and reviewed, the thousands of pages of the six standard editions of Foxe, including the Latin one, as the Editor has done, can read with equal patience, so careless and wilful a calumny as the one now referred to. The history of John Browne being given, this correspondent ventures to inquire—‘Can this new text be as Foxe penned it?’ Moreover, he asserts that he has compared the specimen page of the Acts and Monuments, containing this story, with the original, and that it does not tally with Foxe. Well indeed might this gentleman be an *anonymous* correspondent. Well might he only be known as Mr. ‘W. B. ;’ for can any man of honour,—can the Editor of the British Magazine, in common justice, admit such a direct false charge as is contained in this statement? If the editor of Foxe is to be held responsible for all the slips and errors of his amanuenses, scattered over so vast a field, is not the editor of a monthly journal responsible also? Shall the British Magazine go forth as an organ of the Christian church, and shall this falsehood be detected, as it has doubtless been by many, and shall it be three long years and a half before it be contradicted³? Does the writer now ask, ‘Is this *new* text as Foxe penned it?’ If he does, the Editor asserts that it is,—*verbatim et literatim*; yes, Foxe’s old, faithful, text; that is *no new text*; that it is found precisely where this cavilling correspondent might have found it, had he looked in the proper place, and with honest eyes, in p. 805 of the Edition of the Acts and Monuments of 1583-4; and not only so, but in all the five editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised, in its respective and corresponding place in the text.

This correspondent has *taken the pains* to compare *one specimen page* of the new edition with his own edition. He gives the *Editor* no credit for *taking the pains* to compare *ten thousand pages* with each other; and there is a question whether it was not *possible* to overlook *something* in that vast field of type. No, *he* compares *one page*; and what is the result? Why, he is guilty of a direct violation of truth and honesty, in turning to *another account* of the same martyr in a subsequent portion of the Acts and Monuments. Yes, he carefully conceals the page; but he turns *four hundred and eighty-seven pages forward*, in the edition of 1584, and he extracts from thence an incident of a ‘graphic kind,’ which he would lead the reader to believe that the Editor had omitted, and that Foxe had retained, in this first account of John Browne. Nor could this correspondent be mistaken in the existence of two slightly varying copies of the same story since the second insertion of it, and almost its verbal variations are carefully noticed by the Editor in

³ [Why did not Mr. Cattley write and contradict it? He will not dare to express a suspicion that the Editor would have refused to insert his letter.—Ed.]

vol. v. p. 694 (note 2), in the new edition. But, that every facility may be given to the reader to have Foxe, and the whole of Foxe, and a correct Foxe, carefully reprinted, John Browne, and, it may be, Mr. 'W. B.' shall have another place also in the Appendix.

This then is one of the puny, and false, and crafty insinuations with which this new edition is assailed."—p. 490.

After these heavy charges of 'positive falsehood,' 'wilful error,' 'so wilful a calumny,' 'a direct false charge,' 'direct violation of truth and honesty,' &c., in order that we may judge of their truth, let us look at 'W. B.'s' letter :—

"SIR,—Being possessed of an old edition of Fox, I have been little solicitous to know how its recent editors accounted for that monstrous list of blunders which an acute correspondent of yours has detected. But, opening the advertisements of your July number this afternoon, I saw an attack upon him, and also a 'specimen page.' This specimen page I have been at pains to compare with my own edition. Several alterations occur in a passage impugning the efficacy of the mass to deliver souls from purgatory. The old text was, 'Neither can you tell where *to* find it [i.e., the soul] when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how then can you *save* the soul?' The new edition reads, 'Neither can you tell where *you* find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how then can *you* have the soul?' Can this new text be as Foxe penned it? And even if so, is it sense? What do the editors mean by 'having the soul?'

Again, on what authority is 'Whitsunday even' substituted for 'Whitsun-even?' The day meant is the seventh, not the first, of the week.

'St. Pulchri' is put for 'S. Pulcher's.' Is there such a saint as Pulcher? Is not S. Pulcher's an abbreviation, or a mistake, for Sepulchre's?

'Baily-arrant' for 'Baily-errant.' This spelling is surely both obsolete and inaccurate.

For 'Wye,' a large village near Ashford, the new edition reads inaccurately 'Wey.'

These, except the first, are trifling faults, but they occur in the new specimen page.

I find also an interesting particular of a graphic kind left out. 'As he was brought to the town one night, there to be set in the stocks, it happened, as God would, that a young maid of his house coming by, and seeing her master, ran home and told her mistress.'

Having entered on this subject, let us ask whether Senibalde, in Grostete's

address, may not have been meant as a pun? [Canusini more.] Matthew Paris writes Senibalde, though he calls the pope Sinibaldus. I suppose, too, that Cave must have had some authority for calling the bishop Groshead. At all events, the example of Matthew Paris justifies Fox's change of spelling.

W. B.

Now, in the first place, what can Mr. Cattley mean by talking about his *note*? Is he not telling us that 'W. B.'s' letter was printed in October, 1837; and does he not know that the volume containing the note to which he refers was not published until some time in 1838? I trust this is not what Mr. Cattley calls 'a wilful error.'

Secondly, it will be apparent that there is either great stupidity or dishonesty in Mr. Cattley's assuming and asserting that 'W. B.' had and used the edition of 1583. 'W. B.' says no such thing; but only that he had 'an old edition of Fox.' Now, how many editions Mr. Cattley would allow to bear this description I cannot tell; but in the note which 'W. B.' should have seen before it was published (and which, as it will be wanted presently, I may as well give here) he is sufficiently precise for our present purpose:—

"In the four standard editions of the Acts and Monuments from 1570 to 1596 (as also in some of the later editions), the reader is directed to 'the story of a good and constant martyr of the Lord before overpast, who suffered in Kent for the word of God, before Luther's time'—namely, 'The Story of John Browne, a blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, burned at Ashford,' &c. Foxe seems to have forgotten that he had introduced it before, vol. iv. p. 181, under the date A.D. 1517; where it may be found, as also in the corresponding place of other editions;' the only variation between the second copy of the story and the former is in the date; and the only addition is this:—'This story the said Elizabeth Browne, his wife, did oftentimes repeat to Alice her daughter, who, dwelling yet in the parish of St. Pulcher's, testified the narration hereof unto me and certain others; upon whose credible information I have recorded the same.'—Ed." vol. v. p. 694.

In the passage, however, which I have before quoted from his 'Defence,' he speaks of 'the six standard editions of Foxe, including the Latin;' and also of 'the five editions' which the Mar-

tyrologist revised. And with regard to this latter description, I presume that he means the editions of 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583, 1596; and that in all and each of these editions the text is to be found as he has given in his specimen page. Now, I will not say that this is 'a direct violation of truth and honesty,' or that it is even a mistake, but I really believe that it is one or the other; at all events, if 'W. B.' was in an error, it was, I am sure, a very natural one, and one which most people would have fallen into, if they had only (as, perhaps, 'W. B.' might have) the 'standard' edition of 1576. I have not at present access to the editions of 1563 and 1570, and therefore cannot say anything about them; but that of 1576 is on my desk; and if the same version of John Brown's story, which the Editor has adopted, is to be found anywhere in it,—or if any version at all is to be found except at p. 1255, I shall be glad if he will tell me where. Now, supposing 'W. B.' to have had this edition, he might naturally turn first to the index, and there he would find only one 'John Browen,' with only one reference, and that to this p. 1255. If he turned to the place, it would, so far as I can see, justify every remark that he has made about it, except the first, as to the substitution of *you* for *to*, as will be seen by comparing the text as it there stands with the text as given in the specimen page. The reader must, however, remember that I have no means of knowing that 'W. B.' did not use some other edition, which might show that he was *perfectly* correct. '*To find the soul*' is obviously a better reading, and was probably the original one. '*You find the soul*' is plainly nonsense, seeing that the charge (and almost the admission) was, that the priest did not find it at all. However, here are the two stories; and I think some readers will be amused to see how that one which 'W. B.' found (and which will, I fancy, turn out to be the original) has been abbreviated and modified by somebody who did not think it particularly creditable to the martyr that he showed, even in a Gravesend boat, his want of respect for a priest.

Text of Ed. 1576.

"John Browne a blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus burned at Ashford by Archbishop Warham and Doct. Fisher Bishop of Rochester about the 2 yeare of K. Henry the 8. an. 1511.

"The first occasion of the trouble of this J. Browne the blessed servant of God was by a certain priest who passing down to Gravesend in the common barge where the said J. Browne was amongst divers other passengers mo, and disdayning that he so saucily should sit so near unto him in the barge who belike seemed not much to pass upon the priest, began to swell in stomach against him. At length bursting forth in his priestly voice and disdainful countenance he asked him in this manner 'Doest thou know' said he 'who I am? Thou sittest too near me, and sittest on my cloaths.' 'No, sir,' said the other 'I know not what you are.' 'I tell thee' quoth he 'I am a priest.' 'What, sir, are you a person or vicar or some ladies chaplain?' 'No' quoth he again 'I am a soul-priest. I sing for a soul.' 'Do you so, sir,' quoth the other 'that is well done. I pray you sir' said he 'where find you the soul when you go to mass?' 'I cannot tell thee' said the priest. 'I pray you where do you leave it sir when the mass is done?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'Neither can you tell where you find

*Text of Specimen Page.***"John Browne, Martyr".**

"The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being at the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon, after certain communi-

cation, the priest asked him; 'Doest thou know,' said he, 'who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes.' 'No, sir,' said he, 'I know not what you are.' 'I tell thee I am a priest.' 'What, sir! are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?' 'No,' quoth he again, 'I am a soul-priest, I sing for a soul,' saith he. 'Do you so, sir?' quoth the other, 'that is well done; I pray you, sir,' quoth he, 'where find you the soul when you go to mass?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'Neither

¹ This John Browne was father to Richard Browne, who was in prison in Canterbury, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of queen Mary, but that by the proclaiming of queen Elizabeth, they escaped.

it when you go to mass nor where you leave it when the mass is done.' 'How can you then *save* the soul?' said he. 'Go thy ways,' said the priest I perceive thou art an heretic and I will be even with thee.'

So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More and W. More, two gentlemen and brethren rode straitways to the Archbishop who then was Will. Warham. Whereupon the said John Browne within three days after was sent for by the Archbishop, his bringers up were Chilton of Wye *bailly arrant* and one Beare of Wilseborough with two of the Bishops servants who with certain other, being appointed for the same, came suddenly to his house upon him the same day when his wife was churched, as he was bringing in a mess of porridge to the board serving his guests, and so laying hands upon him set him upon his own horse, binding his feet under the horses belly carried him away to Canterbury neither he nor his wife nor any of his friends knowing whether he went nor whether he should and there continuing the space of forty days, from Low Sunday, till Friday before Whit Sunday through the cruel handling of the said Archbishop and the Bishop of Rochester D. Fisher he was so piteously intreated that his bare feet were set upon the hot burning coals to make him reny his faith which notwithstanding he would not

can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done? how can you then *have* the soul?' said he. 'Go thy ways,' said the priest, 'thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee.' So at the landing, the priest, taking with him Walter More, and William More, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straightways to the archbishop Warham. Hereupon the said John Browne within three days after,

his wife being churched the same day, and he, bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went², nor whither he should:

and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitsunday (his wife not knowing all this while where he was), he was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A.D. 1517. The same

² Chilton of Wey, a *bailly-arrant*, and one Beare of Willesborough, with two of the bishop's servants, set him upon the horse, and so carried him away.

do; but patiently abiding the pain continued in the Lords quarrel unremoveable. At length after all this cruelty sustained his wife yet not knowing where he was become, on Friday before Whitsunday he was sent to Ashford where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

In the meantime as he was brought to the town over night there to be set in the stocks it happened as God would that a young maid of his house coming by, and seeing her master ran home and told her mistress.

Then she coming to him and finding him in the stocks appointed to be burned the next morrow sat by him all the night long. To whom then he declared the whole story or rather tragedy how he was handled and how his feet were burned to the bones that he could not set them upon the ground, by the two Bishops aforesaid (he thanked God therefore) 'and all to make me' said he 'to deny my Lord, which I will never do, for if I should deny him said he in this world he would deny me hereafter and therefore I pray thee said he good Elizabeth continue as thou hast begun and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God.'

And so the next day which was on *Whitson even*, this godly martyr was burned; where he standing at the stake, said this prayer holding up his hands as followeth:—

'The prayer of Browne at his death.

O Lord I yield me to thy grace
Grant me mercy for my trespass
Let never the fiend my soul chase

night, as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife

dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he, declaring the whole story how he was handled, showed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, 'to make me,' said he, 'to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me.' 'I pray thee,' said he, 'therefore, good Elizabeth! continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously, and in the fear of God.' And so the next day, on *Whitsunday even*, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, this prayer he made, holding up his hands:—

'O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass;
Let never the fiend my soul chase.

Lord I will bow and thou shalt
beat

Let never my soul come in hell
heat.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit,
Thou hast redeemed me O Lord
of truth.'

And so this blessed martyr ended
his life in peace anno 1511.

This story the said Elizabeth
Browne his wife did oftymes repeat
to Alice her daughter who dwelling
yet in the parish of *S. Pulchers* testi-
fied the narration thereof unto me
and certain other upon whose cre-
dible information I have recorded
the same.

Furthermore here is to be noted
that the said John Browne bare a
faggot seven years before this in the
days of King Henry the 7. Whose
son also, named Rich. Browne for the
like cause of religion was imprisoned
at Canterbury likewise, in the latter
time of Queen Mary and should have
been burned with two mo besides
himself the next day after the death
of Queen Mary, but that by the pro-
claiming of Queen Elizabeth they es-
caped."—ED. 1576, p. 1255.

Now, here it will be clear that (with the single exception
already mentioned) the text of the edition of 1576 fully bears out
everything said by 'W. B.' There is, I admit, a possibility that
both versions may be in this edition; but as I have not been
able to find it, I am disposed to defend 'W. B.,' even if Mr.
Cattley should (as he is bound) point out the repetition. Of one
thing I feel pretty certain—namely, that if by its 'respective and
corresponding place in the text' he means that the story of Brown
should appear in that part of the edition of 1576 which answers to
the specimen page (that is, between the martyrdom of Sweeting and
Brewster, and the Story of Richard Hun) it certainly is not

Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt
beat,

Let never my soul come in hell-
heat.

Into thy hands I commend my
spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O
Lord of truth.'

And so he ended³.

At the fire one Chilton, the baily-
arrant, bade cast in Browne's chil-
dren also, for they would spring, said
he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr, John Browne,
had borne a faggot seven years be-
fore, in the days of king Henry VII."

³ Ex testimonio Aliciæ Browne,
ejus filiæ, cujus mariti nomen dice-
batur Strat. in parochia *St. Pulcri*.

there. I have not, however, thought it worth while to make any great search ; for, if he knows how to do it, Mr. Cattley will of course point out the pages of ALL the standard editions which are necessary to maintain his character for veracity.

One reason for giving the whole of both versions of the story is, that readers may judge how much the work has gained by Mr. Cattley's boasted collations. To myself it appears that he has chosen the worst version of the story ; certainly the most incorrect as to that respecting which we can be sure, for (to say nothing of the absurd and inconsistent side-note, talking of the *fourth* year of Henry VIII.) it refers to the year 1517 what certainly happened in 1511. It is also clear that it does contain 'a graphic incident' which the editor *has omitted*—nay, he has not merely omitted it, but actually denied its existence, by stating that 'the *only* addition' is that which he has given about Alice Browne.

But is it not singular—nay, when I consider how deeply the cause of truth is involved in the exposure of ignorant and impudent pretenders, I would say, with sincere belief and reverence, is it not a thing which we should thankfully ascribe to the good Providence of God, that those who write in a reckless manner about what they do not understand, so commonly expose themselves more completely than we could do without their help ? Is it not singular that Mr. Cattley should have exploded all this conceit and insolence upon a matter which very particularly displays his ignorance and negligence ? He professes to have given the story of John Browne at vol. iv. p. 181, as he found it in p. 805 of the edition of 1583, (and this may be true for what I know, as I do not possess that part of that edition,) and going forward four hundred and eighty-seven pages in the same volume he found a 'second insertion,' which he did not think it expedient to reprint, but of which 'almost its verbal variations are carefully noticed by the Editor' at vol. v. p. 694. What could the most pains-taking editor have done more ? Why, with very little additional trouble, he might have told his readers, what it is obviously necessary to tell Mr. Cattley as a piece of news, that *between* those specified pages in the fourth and fifth volume, and without the slightest reference to either of them, he had given yet another

account of John Browne's martyrdom, actually setting out at length the articles on which he was condemned. If he had not written the note of which he boasts, or made this silly attack on 'W. B.,' we might not have been certain that he had not suspected John Browne of Ashford, named in his note, p. 694, was the same person as John Browne of Ashford, mentioned at p. 648 of the same volume. Why, he was one of the 'FIVE BLESSED MARTYRS CONDEMNED AND BURNED,' as the head-line of p. 647 tells us, in the 'Persecution in Kent,' an account of which occupies nearly seven pages. This account of John Browne, which rests not on the recollection of an old woman, but on Archbishop Warham's Register, shows that the editor has adopted the worst version of the story, and that the true date is 1511, and not 1517.

This is not the place to enter on the history of the Kentish Persecution so fully as I hope to do elsewhere; but having referred to the account of John Browne's martyrdom, which is professedly taken from Archbishop Warham's Register, I feel bound to add that it is not taken correctly. This is the more necessary because the strong vouchers which have been given by various writers for Fox's strict fidelity and accuracy have been, in this same volume with Mr. Cattley's defence, collected and put forward with childish parade by Mr. Townsend. He has actually thought to do honour to Fox by stooping to pick up the praise of such an author as Neal⁴; thereby showing (as he does in another way more fully and more comically) how little he apprehends that the really valuable thing is 'laudari a laudatis,' and that very fine commendation is worth but little if it comes from the dunce, or the partisan, or the parasite. As to these vouchers for Fox, I hope to say something another time; meanwhile, so far as this case is concerned, will the reader be so good as to observe, that according to Fox's account, the articles upon which John Browne was condemned were as follows:—

"First, For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the true and very body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.

II. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 28.

III. That no power is given of God to priests, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other divine service, more than to laymen ⁴.

IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to salvation of soul, neither was instituted of God ⁵.

V. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available, nor necessary to soul's health.

VI. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them do commit idolatry.

VII. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, be not necessary, nor meritorious to soul's health.

VIII. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their prayers.

IX. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration than before.

X. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present.

XI. That whereas they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them: they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.

XII. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore, with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same."—vol. v. p. 648.

Now, I say nothing at present of the two notes which Fox has appended, because it would require a good deal of extract from the Register to enable those who have not seen it to form any opinion of the *possibility* that they could be written by anybody who understood the Process and meant to report the matter fairly; but I ask the reader just to look over the articles as here given from Fox, and see if he can find anything in them that is a translation of the following, which in the Register stands second among the articles ministered to John Browne:—"Item, quod sacramenta BAPTISMI et CONFIRMATIONIS non sunt necessaria ad salutem anime." Those who vouch for Fox may account for this omission as they please.

S. R. MAITLAND."

⁴ Their meaning was this, that priests can claim no more virtue or high estate by their order than can a layman.

⁵ For a sacrament, they meant.

II.

MR. TOWNSEND'S LETTER FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE,
JAN. 1842.

"SIR,—I perceive, in your Number for the present month, some observations, from the pen of Mr. Maitland, on the new edition of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. Mr. Maitland has advertised, also, 'Notes on the Contributions of Mr. Townsend to this Edition.' He has republished, too, the last Six Letters of a series of twelve, animadverting upon the same work, which were originally given to the world in the years 1837 and 1838, in the pages of your Magazine. Will you oblige me, as an original subscriber to, and as a constant reader of, your lucubrations, by inserting the very brief replies which I shall think it my duty to make to any observations which Mr. Maitland may submit to the public through this channel; and permit me, that I may more effectually clear the way for my answers to his letters in the Magazine, first to notice his advertisement in the several newspapers, and also his "*Six more Letters.*" I will then, as shortly, yet as fully, as his several attacks may demand, reply to them all, beginning with that in the Number for December.

With respect to his advertisement, '*Notes on Mr. Townsend's Contributions to the New Edition of John Foxe,*' I can only inform Mr. Maitland that I shall be most happy to read them; and he may be assured that I shall be no less happy to improve my mind and increase my knowledge by his criticisms—

* *'If some more sober critic comes abroad,
If right, I smile; if wrong, I kiss the rod.'*

Mr. Maitland also will be no less happy to be benefited by me; and thus our mutual remarks may be considered as a mutual effort to improve each other. I will inform him, as we proceed in the discussion, of the benefit which I may derive from his efforts. It will, I trust, be greater than that which I can remember to have followed from my study of his previous labours.

The next point on which I would speak is the '*Six more Letters.*'

Very sorry was I, in these days of apostasy and treason, when the dry rot of indifference to the progress of the ancient superstitions, which neither our fathers nor ourselves were able to bear, is corrupting the beams of our tabernacle in the wilderness, to read many of his observations. Your pages are too valuable to permit me to examine them in detail. I will therefore merely mention the subject of each letter, and condense my replies in the smallest possible space.

The first letter contains remarks on Foxe's account of Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order. John Foxe derides him. Mr. Maitland considers his derision as most absurd. My answer shall be derived from Mr. Maitland's own comparison in p. 76 :—'The false enemies and foolish friends have daubed the originators of the mendicant order with alternate coats of dirty slander and childish praise, till they become in the predicament of some of the figures in our churches, where, between the Iconoclast rebel and the whitewashing churchwarden, the features can scarcely be traced.'

This is a pretty comparison. John Foxe is the Iconoclast, and Mr. Maitland the churchwarden ; and I wish him joy of the self-assumed office. He confesses (p. 17) that he 'cannot decide whether Francis actually pierced his hands and feet with nails.' John Foxe believes the common story that he did so.

Foxe expresses the disbelief of the saintship of Francis in no drawing-room language, but in the bold and coarse style which shocks the present day. Mr. Maitland calls his language 'trash.' (p. 85.) He demands, 'what good can be done by reprinting it? and whether the church of England has no resource against Rome but railing and calling names?' Our resources, I answer, against Rome, are derived from the Holy Scriptures, from antiquity, from the Fathers, from sound learning, scholarlike criticism, and every feeling which the love of truth and liberty can engender in the human heart; and all controversy ought to be discussed in the most calm and unimpassioned manner. But Foxe lived in a day when men were burnt to death for not believing doctrines which were supported by the false legends and detestable frauds

of such impositions as the stigmata of St. Francis ; and indignation against cruelty made him no less severe with the impositions by which they were upheld. The strong language of that indignation deserves to be described by other epithets than ' trash and railing.'

The second letter contains further remarks on the language of Foxe, some of which is defensible, some indefensible. I shall only notice that which Mr. Maitland calls ' sad stuff, in point of taste and religion.' (p. 96.)

In the high and palmy state of the church of Rome, one of its bitter opponents wrote a paper against its bishops and clergy, which purported to be a letter from Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, to the princes of the church, to thank them for ' the manner in which their influence crowded his dominions.' Mr. Maitland expresses his profound contempt for this brochure. I have already, in a former publication¹, called it a severe and bitter libel. Our ancestors used more uncourteous language, as well as more fiery arguments, on both sides, than their silky sons ; but I tell Mr. Maitland, in all soberness of feeling, that if it be indeed true, as he believes, and as I believe, that moral and spiritual evil was introduced, and is continued in the world, by a fallen and powerful spirit, who rejoices to destroy the effects of Christ's redemption ; that the devil in his hell is to be congratulated when the clergy of Christ's church poison the waters of life, and instead of healing souls, increase their diseases, and thus thrust them down from heaven to hell. In vain do they worship God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. This may seem strong language ; but stronger language must be used before we can expel from our church the poison which is beginning once more to pervade it.

The third letter abuses Wycliffe and some of his friends, who are defended by Foxe, for asserting that the temporalities of the church are resumable at the pleasure of the princes and great men who were their donors.

¹ Accusations of History against the Church of Rome.

Is not the assertion in one sense true? The property of the church was given at the first, and the same property is secured by the state in perpetuity, on condition that true Christianity is taught to the people. If the clergy of the present day, from Archbishop Howley to the poorest incumbent of the church, were to conspire together to teach submission to a foreign power, treason to the state, unitarianism, or popery, would not the state be justified in withdrawing its protection from that property, and in punishing conspiracy by confiscation? The clergy are not the church. The church is the congregation of faithful men, the family of Christ, of whom the clergy are the servants, as well as the fathers and instructors. The clergy have once taught the people erroneously and served them treacherously, and they may do so again. If so, the congregation must punish them.

The fourth letter treats with just contempt the story that six thousand children's heads were found in a fish-pond. Mr. Maitland, with much humour and most amusing sarcasm, proves Foxe to be credulous, and his editor to be unwise.

The fifth letter condemns the opinions which Foxe approves, and which were held by Thorpe, a Lollard, and others, on the subject of the church property. I have already replied to these remarks.

The last letter condemns the martyrologist for his general abuse of the prelates and bishops of the church. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had put some churches under an interdict; that is, he had prohibited the worship of God on the Lord's-day because the bells were not rung as he passed. Foxe condemns this conduct in his usual unsparing language. Mr. Maitland calls this language 'low radical mockery at all ecclesiastical authority.' (p. 135.) He asks whether any one of the admirers of Foxe will come forward and say that this was written in the style and with the feelings of a Christian?

I answer, that I approve most of the language which Foxe has used. With respect to the affirmation that the circulation of such remarks on bishops and prelates will injure the cause of the church and its higher magistrates in the present day, I can only

say it produces more surprise than conviction. No reader of the pages of John Foxe can possibly imagine that the language which the martyrologist applies to Arundel and the martyr-burning bishops, who exerted themselves to reduce England to the yoke of Rome, can be applied to the mild and gentle virtues of Howley and his brethren. It might have been supposed that Mr. Maitland would have paused before he imagined the possibility of such an identity. He may be assured of this, that if he and his brethren, who are beginning to palliate the follies, defend the conduct, explain away the doctrines, and endeavour to reconcile the people and church of England to the yoke of Rome, shall persevere much longer in their wickedness and folly, they will provoke a reaction against them, which shall elicit from the people much severer language than John Foxe has used. I tell him, too, that if our Howleys, Blomfields, and Sumners, imitate the conduct of Arundel, they will deserve the same contempt which Foxe heaped on Arundel. If they behave like Laud, they will deserve, not to lose their heads, but to be deposed from their high office by a national synod, amidst the universal execration of the people. Mr. Maitland may be certain that the people love the clergy of their church; but they love more, far more than they love their clergy, the truth of Christ's gospel, and the constitutional liberty, both of which Rome opposed and hated.

At the conclusion of this letter, Mr. Maitland inquires whether Mr. Townsend will vindicate an expression of a man named Purvey, approved by Foxe, 'that every Christian, as well as the priests and clergy, is permitted by the law of God to preach the gospel, privately to their neighbours?' (page 141.)

I answer, that none but the bishop, the priest, and the deacon, who is set apart, ordained, and consecrated to the office, may teach or preach in the name of the Church, which can alone, according to Christ's own ordinance, give them authority to do so. But I affirm my belief also, that John Nokes, who is a Christian, is ever permitted by the same law of God to say to John Styles, who may be a profligate and blaspheming neighbour, 'Thou art a sinful man, my brother; repent, and be converted,

that thy sins may be pardoned, and thy spirit be changed, and live.' Will Mr. Maitland deny this? Is not episcopal authority, rightly understood, perfectly consistent with the Christian duty of private exhortation, and with the privilege of Christian conversation?

Here, then, I end my brief notice of Mr. Maitland's '*Six more Letters.*' I am now brought to his letter in the *British Magazine* of this month.

This letter, I observe, consists of eight pages. They refer, however, to the real and supposed errors of the editor, with which I have nothing to do. The only points which it may be necessary for me to notice, are, an omission by Foxe, which is quoted to impugn his impartiality, and a personal observation respecting myself.

The crime alleged against Foxe is, that in drawing up the articles of impeachment against a man who was burned, Foxe mentions the man's opinions against pilgrimages, transubstantiation, auricular confession, and other points of this nature; but he did not insert in the list the accusation, that the man taught the non-necessity of the sacraments to salvation.

Foxe, I answer, was guilty of the fault which almost every writer of biography, excepting the inspired writers, has committed, of concealing the faults of those whom he eulogizes. He ought to have mentioned the article which he has omitted; and it is certain that many of the martyrs who were burned held opinions which the Church of England now condemns. But it is no less true, that the man would have been burned if he had denied transubstantiation, even if he had maintained to the utmost the validity of the sacraments. Mr. Maitland cannot rail the seal off the bond. Foxe wrote to hold up to reprobation the cruelty, treachery, and abominations of Rome. Mr. Maitland and his friends hate the principles of Foxe more than they hate his language. They discover many, very many indefensible faults in his voluminous work; and they are saving the Papists much trouble, while they are giving them also much satisfaction, by their incessant abuse of the martyrologist. I trust they will

proceed. The wheat will be sifted from the chaff, and Foxe, I believe, will be more honoured by our posterity than he was even venerated by our ancestors, as the result of the controversy.

Mr. Maitland has made one or two personal remarks on myself, which I deem it worth while to notice. He derides my catalogue of the names of those who have eulogized Foxe, as being put forward with '*childish parade*;' and he laughs at the mentioning of the name of the puritan Neal among them. He is pleased to remind me that '*praise is of no value, if it come, not from the praised, but from the dunce, the partisan, or the parasite.*'

My catalogue of names includes some of the best and most honoured, from Whitgift, the archbishop contemporary with Foxe, to Howley, the contemporary of Maitland. I found Neal among the eulogizers of Foxe; and I would not omit him. He was a coarse and partial writer, who read history through the green spectacles of his own opinions; but he was not a wilful liar. I am fully sensible of the value of the maxim *laudari a laudatis*, which Mr. Maitland has quoted, though I hope we shall both obtain higher praise, when our account is rendered, than that of the most highly-lauded from among our brethren. I am sorely tempted, when I read the crushing contempt with which the highly and deservedly-praised Mr. Faber has treated Mr. Maitland, and remember the various and numerous eulogies which have been heaped upon Mr. Maitland by others, to analyze the worthiness of those who have praised him, and to assist him in the inquiry whether his laurels have been entwined round his brow by the praised or by the dunce, by the partisan or the parasite. But I forbear doing so, and conclude my letter by informing Mr. Maitland, as to the '*childish parade*' of my quotations, and as to the present controversy in general, that though we have not wit enough to please the public, nor learning enough to interest them, I trust we shall have so much good sense as to avoid becoming ridiculous, merely to entertain them. Let me add, also, that I have much higher, nobler, worthier objects claiming and receiving my attention than this controversy; and that I earnestly recommend him to employ his undoubted talents,

in imitation of my example, on matters which he may reflect upon with greater pleasure at the last, than in winning the approbation of the papist and the tractarian, and obtaining the contempt and disgust of the protestant, yet catholic churchman.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND.

College, Durham, Dec. 7, 1841.

P.S.—Since I wrote the above, Mr. Maitland has published the first number of his Notes on my contributions to the Preface to the new edition of John Foxe. He has, however, done so through Mr. Rivington. I shall therefore request Mr. Rivington to publish my reply. The papers Mr. Maitland sends to the British Magazine, I shall beg the Editor to permit me to answer through the same channel. Those which he publishes in other quarters I shall also answer through the same medium. I do not speak presumptuously, though I speak boldly and confidently, from the conviction of my love of truth and of the justice of my cause, when I say that I throw down the gauntlet both to Mr. Maitland, to the Editor of the Record,—who has also assailed me,—and to every other antagonist of any name, sect, or party, who assails the general propositions which I have undertaken to defend. The errors which disgrace Mr. Maitland's 'Notes on my Contributions' are (to use his own expression) '*very remarkable.*' If Mr. Rivington refuses to publish my reply to Mr. Maitland, I must seek some other portion of the yet unpoisoned press; I say this, for though my dear friend, his venerable father, published my Arrangement of the Bible, his son, in his honourable (though in this instance, I think, ill-judged) zeal for what he wrongly deemed the interest of the Church, refused to publish my Charge to the Clergy of Northallerton, against Tract No. 80, on Preaching the Atonement with Reserve. He was the London publisher of the Tracts. I then called upon the bishops to do that which their own wisdom (not the knowledge of my humble labour) has since induced them to do. I accept the fact as an earnest that the Church, by God's mercy, will stay the plague which is begun.

If the bishops will but do their duty, the catholic church in England, which protests against the errors and the novelties both of Geneva and of Rome, will be preserved as the salt of the earth,—the leaven which shall leaven the whole mass of mankind."

III.

MR. CATTLEY'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
JANUARY, 1842.

"SIR,—Mr. Maitland, in the last Number of the British Magazine, has charged me either with stupidity or dishonesty¹, in consequence of my assuming that your correspondent² 'W. B.' had used Foxe's edition of 1583, in collating a passage in one account of 'John Brown,' with a copy of the life of the same man in my edition. In reply, I must refer Mr. Maitland to the notice appended to Vol. II., which distinctly stated, that 'the present work³ is a *reprint* of the *fourth* edition of the original work of John Foxe, published in 1583, with the exception of certain passages introduced from the first three English editions, and from the fifth.'" Now as these several editions vary in many particulars, and my edition is stated to be a *reprint of a specified and particular edition*, in whom exists the 'stupidity or dishonesty?' in 'W. B.' for comparing my edition with a very abbreviated and curtailed edition, like that of 1576; or in *me*, who, naturally enough, supposed that 'W. B.' would have followed the edition of 1583, of which mine was an *avowed reprint*? I have said before⁴, that in the four standard editions of the Acts and Monuments, from 1570 to 1596, the story of John Brown may be found as I have given it⁵. I subjoin the references. Edition

¹ Brit. Mag. No. CXXI. p. 603 (printed 60.)

² Acts and Monuments, 1836—41. Vol. I. p. 491. Prelim. Dissertation.

³ Edition of the Acts and Monuments, 1836—41.

⁴ Vol. V. p. 604.

⁵ Vol. IV. p. 181.

1570, page 927; edition 1596, page 736; edition 1583, page 805. But, Sir, how will Mr. Maitland complacently resume his pen, when he finds that I make *no* reference to the edition of 1576, or to any more editions? And how singular that this should be the only edition to which Mr. Maitland should have access now, when there were times⁶ in which most of the early editions of John Foxe were on his desk! How will his pulse beat when he finds that I *have* actually made 'a mistake,' in saying that my account of John Brown is in the corresponding place of *the edition* of 1576, when I find that the editor of that abbreviated edition (who appears to be R. Daye⁹) has wisely omitted, as I have done, one of two accounts of the same story. Yes, I *have* absolutely omitted one of two accounts, and Mr. Maitland is displeased! Had I inserted them both, Mr. Maitland would have charged me, as he does my friend Mr. Townsend, with 'childish parade'. I cannot occupy my time, or your pages, with any more of this foolish controversy.

Your obedient servant,

STEPHEN REED CATTLEY."

Fulham.

IV.

MR. MAITLAND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
FEBRUARY, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—If Mr. Townsend thinks his 'brief notice' of my 'Six more Letters' a sufficient reply, he is quite welcome to his opinion. The Letters are before the public, and in a particular manner before the readers of the British Magazine, who may find them in their numbers beginning with December 1837. If,

⁶ See his former letters on the same subject in the British Magazine.

⁷ Brit. Mag. No. CXXI. p. 603 (printed 60.)

⁸ Edition 1576, p. 2009.

⁹ Brit. Mag. No. CXXI. p. 607.

now that he is dragged into an acknowledgment of their existence, this is the worst that Mr. Townsend can say, I have no reason to complain.

As it is not, however, to be expected that many readers will take that trouble, it is necessary to tell them that Mr. Townsend misrepresents what I have said.

He says, for instance, that I express 'profound contempt' for the Letter of Lucifer, which is reprinted in vol. iii. p. 190, of the new edition of Fox, and which I have noticed at p. 95, of my Letters, and adds, that in a publication of his own he has 'called it a severe and bitter libel.' I expressed no contempt; and whether it is a libel or not has nothing whatever to do with the question. His obvious drift in this, as well as in his talk about 'courteous language,' and 'silky sons,' and his allusion to the unforgiven tractarians, is to give his readers the impression that the 'severe libel' had been objected to out of tenderness to the Romish church. This is pure misrepresentation, without a word to give colour or excuse. I objected to a jeering letter, written in the name of Satan, as 'profane jesting,' and because I do not think that hell and damnation are fit subjects for burlesque. I asked, 'Can any man who believes in the existence of Satan as a reality, cordially enter into the fun of 'the device or counterfeit of a certain letter,' &c.?' I asked, 'Can any Christian man, I do not say admire, but *dare to vindicate* such ribaldry as 'what I proceeded to quote, and need not here repeat. I believe that I said nothing but what I might have said, and should have said, if the letter had been written by a papist against the protestants. If Mr. Townsend is not ashamed to see it, and some other blasphemous things, reprinted for popular use and parochial circulation, without a hint of censure, in a book that bears his name on the title page, I think he ought to be. My object, however, is to warn the reader against his misrepresentations; and to show a specimen of the means which are used to get up, and keep up, the notion, that to censure what Fox has written is to apologize for Rome.

Mr. Townsend expresses surprise at my conceiving it possible that what Fox says about bishops and prelates can 'injure the cause of the church' in the present day; and thinks I might have paused before I imagined the possibility of anybody's applying the language of Fox to the prelates of the present day.

Some persons will perhaps recollect that the letter of Mr. Pratt, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Bridges, was intended to conduce to 'the more *extended circulation* of this improved edition.' That they hoped that 'the sound principles of the protestant Reformation would be *effectually disseminated* through this medium;' the medium being more particularly through the presentation of this new edition by wealthy Christians to the younger, and to the Irish, clergy; and this suggestion being prefaced by an account of a clergyman who had determined to take two copies, one to lend 'throughout his parish, and ultimately to place in his parochial library.' In short, it was to be, and is to be, made a book 'for the people,' as the modern phrase runs. It may be, perhaps, because I am what Mr. Townsend calls a 'silky son,' too fond of 'courteous language,' that I should not wish all classes of the community to get familiar with such epithets as 'blind, bloody, beastly bishops,' even if they neither applied them wholesale to the present bench, nor sorted them out for individual application.

But this is not the matter; and I need not here repeat what I have said in my twelfth letter. Mr. Townsend knows that there is other language in Fox, besides that of sneer and invective and coarse abuse, directed against the whole crew of prancing prelates. He knows that there is language more objectionable, which has nothing to do with martyr-burning, and which is just as applicable to the prelates of the present day as it was to Arundel or Courtenay, Gardiner or Bonner, because it strikes at the root of episcopacy, and represents it as an usurpation and tyranny in the church. If those who are eager to circulate the work in parishes take no pains to explain to the people that *they* do not consider the 'placing proud prelates the cause of all mischief,' will it not

' be supposed that they hold the sentiments which they are so anxious to make known? Must it not seem that this doctrine is considered as one of 'the sound principles of the Protestant Reformation?' *Is there any one thing in the book more obvious than its Presbyterianism?* Surely those who are zealous to give 'extended circulation' to such a work among the younger clergy and their parishioners, with high panegyric of its principles, and not one word of difference or censure, *are* likely to 'injure the cause of the church,' and it is a waste of words to argue about the matter.

I proceed, however, to point out another misrepresentation of a bolder character. Mr. Townsend says—

'Mr. Maitland inquires whether Mr. Townsend will vindicate an expression of a man named Purvey approved by Foxe, 'that every Christian as well as the priests and clergy is permitted by the law of God to preach the gospel privately to their neighbours,' ' p. 141.

Any body would suppose that the 'expression' which Mr. Townsend has marked by inverted commas, was given in Purvey's words, and that they were to be found at p. 141 of my Letters. No such thing. If Mr. Townsend intends to maintain that Purvey meant to speak of only *private* exhortation, and did *not* mean to teach that *every* Christian was equally a priest and had *equal commission and authority* to preach the gospel *publicly*, let him do so. It is obviously absurd; but he must vindicate in his own fashion. He must not, however, foist in the word 'privately,' just by way of begging the question, and settling it quietly. I have often wished that he and his kinsmen would publish a list of their subscribers, marking with asterisks the names of those for whom, more especially, they design their arguments, notes, illustrations, and other diversions. They must be odd people, and one would like to know them. Does he really expect to persuade any body who is likely to read the British Magazine, that I ever denied the right of John Nokes to say to John Styles, if he is a profligate and blasphemer, 'Thou art a sinful man, my brother?' It is really rather too much to expect.

In my paper to which Mr. Townsend's letter is more particularly an answer, he finds only two points which require notice.

The first is, Fox's omission in relating the history of John Browne. On this he says, boldly, 'Fox, I answer, *was guilty* of the fault which almost every writer of biography, except the inspired writers, has committed, *of concealing the faults of those whom he eulogizes.*' Very well. When the Vindicator says this, what need I say? What have I ever said half so bad, so sweeping, so destructive of the character of an historian and biographer? Of course I could not expect such an answer from the Vindicator, after Mr. Pratt, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Bridges, had vouched for 'the high character of the work for ACCURACY OF DETAIL;' and the publishers had declared in their prospectus, that, 'high as is the character which he deservedly maintains for VERACITY and CORRECTNESS, still Fox has not been without assailants. The publishers are therefore gratified to be able to announce that the present edition will be prefaced by a FULL VINDICATION of the pious martyrologist from these various attacks. That duty has been undertaken by the Rev. George Townsend¹.' And thus the duty is performed. We are told that it was Fox's way. A pleasant vindication, considering that his book consists in so great a degree of the biography of those whom he eulogizes. And yet Mr. Townsend does not venture to say that it was *quite* right. 'He ought to have *mentioned* the article which he has omitted.' Yes, considering that he did not profess to be reporting mere hearsay, but quoting from the Archbishop's Register; and considering, too, that even in the eyes of the bloodthirsty papists (Dean Colet included) the rejec-

¹ I copy this as it stands in the prospectus, dated May 24, 1836. Perhaps the publishers will almost wish that they had left the passage as it stood in the earlier (I believe, original) prospectus of May 2:—"The present edition will therefore be prefaced by a full vindication of the respected and pious martyrologist against the many attacks which have at various periods been made upon him, from the pen of the Rev. George Townsend," &c. It seems as if it would be almost a necessary part of the Appendix.

tion of baptism was considered, in some degree, heretical, it should at least have been mentioned². 'Eleven years' (says Mr. Townsend—I wish he could get over his aversion to dates, and tell us what years) 'were carefully and anxiously devoted to the arrangement of materials which were transmitted to him from all quarters; in examining the registers of the bishops, and other authentic records of the facts and events he was to relate³.' But was it to garble what suited his purpose from what made against it? 'Fox wrote,' Mr. Townsend tells us, 'to hold up to reprobation the cruelty, treachery, and abominations of Rome.' I dare say he did, and that such an object might be better attained by concealing the heresies and sins of those whom Rome destroyed; but then let the book take its proper place, and show its true colours. Let it not be palmed upon us as an historical work, particularly characterized by 'accuracy of detail,' by 'veracity and correctness.'

But after running away from the specific point where vindication is called for, Mr. Townsend faces about, and throws down the gauntlet in defence of some 'two general propositions.' I profess to you, Sir, I know not what he means. The only proposition that I care about is a very particular one—namely, that he would fully vindicate the veracity and correctness of the martyrologist. It is with Mr. Townsend, as the Vindicator of Fox, that I have to do; and I have a good deal of matter, which I hope to lay before him in that character, and which (as I stated) I avoided entering upon in my Letters, because it related to the department which he had undertaken. Beside other statements of a similar nature, I said, in the page 141 which has been already referred to, 'I wait to see how matters, *to which I have as yet*

² After the word "omitted," just quoted above, Mr. Townsend goes on to say, "And it is certain that *many* of the martyrs who were burned held opinions which the church of England *now* condemns." Taken in any way, this passage is remarkable; but can he mean that there ever was a time when the church of England did not condemn the rejection of baptism?

³ Vol. I. p. 28.

scarcely alluded, are vindicated.' I do see, and am astonished ; and I hope to discuss a good many points in the form of notes on Mr. Townsend's contributions. His prompt announcement of a reply to the first part of these has prevented my being in a hurry to publish the second ; but certainly I have no more present intention of attacking any general propositions which Mr. Townsend may have made, than I have of adopting his particular proposition, that we should both set to work about something else, 'higher, nobler, worthier,' and not trouble ourselves about Fox at all. After having been so many years so publicly, so repeatedly, pledged to the business, and wrought so much in it, has he just found out that it is so trumpery as not to be worth his attention ? Or has he begun to discover that rigmarole and personal reflection will not carry ignorance through when it is so incautious as to desert 'general propositions,' and deal with matters of fact ?

As to personal remarks, I think that those who have seen what Mr. Townsend has thought proper to write about me, and about others who may justly be thought more unfit subjects for his impertinence, will not think that he has much ground of complaint. For my own part, I had not written an uncourteous word of Mr. Townsend. He had done nothing to offend me, and to provoke my resentment, or given me ground or pretence for saying anything that could offend him ; and I thought I had succeeded in preserving that species of neutral courtesy which, when there is nothing to prevent it, I am peculiarly anxious to maintain inviolate where I do not feel respect. Neither have I ever had any such acquaintance with Mr. Townsend as might account for his familiarity. Of course, I thought his coming forth 'with great solemnity of justing,' to distribute his praise and censure, very ridiculous ; and could only suppose that he was acting under some mistake as to his place in the literary world. Surely it must be, as I have said, that he considers a puff from one person as good as a puff from another, or he would never have stooped to pick up Neal's eulogy of Fox. In his reply, he tells us, that

Neal 'was a coarse and partial writer, who read history through the green spectacles of his own opinions, but he was not a wilful liar.' This may be Mr. Townsend's opinion. Southey has characterized Neal as the 'most prejudiced and dishonest of all historians'. Surely even those who prefer the authority of Mr. Townsend will admit that praise from such a person as he describes, bestowed on a partisan, is not worth picking up, except as it adds a name in a 'childish parade' of authorities, or a dishonest attempt to deceive ignorant readers. I do not know that there is anything else in Mr. Townsend's letter which requires notice.

As to Mr. Cattley's letter, I will at present only say that it admits of but one species of reply, and *that* such as I should be sorry to make without having given him the option of withdrawing it, and substituting another letter in your next Number. He may be assured, that though I think it right to point out his blunders, and do it without the pain which I should feel for any one who seemed as if he could feel for himself, yet there is a species of exposure which I would gladly allow him to escape. Let him consult his friends; in particular (if I may venture to recommend) the three gentlemen who came forward as his vouchers in the 'Record' at first, and who have stood by him unflinchingly ever since. Should you, Mr. Editor, agree to this arrangement, and not receive any communication from Mr. Cattley, during the first half of the ensuing month, you will perhaps have the goodness to let me know; or if you do receive one for publication, and intended to supersede that which has already appeared, you will perhaps communicate its contents to me, in order that what I may think it proper to say, in the way of reply, may appear at the same time..

At any rate, even if he is satisfied that his letter should stand, I must beg that Mr. Cattley will not think of running away from 'this foolish controversy' without fully explaining what he has

said of my having made an offer of assistance, and naming the person through whom, as he states, some such offer was made.

I am, &c.

S. R. MAITLAND."

V.

MR. TOWNSEND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR MARCH, 1842.

"SIR,—Mr. Maitland has given to your readers five pages of reply to my letter. I have read them carefully through, and reply to them according to my promise. There are eight propositions, which alone I deem it necessary to notice; and that in as many sentences. I am anxious to spare myself trouble, and to save the time of your readers.

1. *Mr. Townsend defends the letter from the Prince of Darkness to the papist bishops, recorded by Foxe, thanking them for peopling his dominions.*

Mr. Townsend neither attacks nor defends it: he describes only the state of things which produced it.

2. *Foxe's opinions on bishops may be deemed injurious to the present bishops: and they ought not therefore to be published.*

The papist bishops, when Foxe lived, were the uniform unrelenting persecutors of the church of Christ. Therefore Foxe spoke too unreservedly of their order; but Foxe was the friend of his patrons, Parkhurst, Whitgift, Pilkington, and other bishops. They did not deem his work to be injurious to episcopacy. Why should we do so? Who but Mr. Maitland will imagine that the lance aimed at Bonner and Gardiner will injure Bloomfield and Howley?

3. *Presbyterianism is obvious in Foxe.*

Will Mr. Maitland refer to the passages in which any other form of church government than that by bishops is defended by the martyrologist?

4. *The publishers promised the subscribers that Mr. Townsend would write a full vindication.*

Does Mr. Maitland imagine (dull, dense, and stupid as he imagines me to be) that I undertook to vindicate every page, line, sentence, affirmation, opinion, and doctrine of John Foxe? Could any book or author endure such an ordeal? The Martyrology consists of a mass of matter three times the amount of Hume's History of England. I have given a general vindication of Foxe against thirteen modern and ancient authors.

5. *Mr. Townsend cannot mention the dates of the eleven years during which Foxe was engaged on his work.*

I have mentioned them in my "Remarks on Mr. Maitland's Errors," in his "Notes to Number one of my Contributions to the Preface." Foxe, I have there shewn, began his labours at Reigate in 1553. One edition of the earlier part of his work was published at Strasburg in 1554; another at Basil in 1559. But the English edition of his completed work was published in the commencement of the eleventh year from the first date I have mentioned.

6. This I must give in Mr. Maitland's refined, courteous, gentlemanly language—"Rigmarole and personal reflections will not carry ignorance through when it is so incautious as to desert general propositions for matters of fact."

Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! My gentle reader, have I not reason to admire Mr. Maitland's candour more than I admire his manners? Shall I not apply to him, with a little alteration, the words of Pope?

"Go on, obliging writer, make me see
All that adorns thy pages meet in me?"

Mr. Maitland, I have the honour to be your obedient, and faithful, humble servant. I do not object to any severity of

language from you ; for I, as you justly say, 'began this warfare first,' when I applied to you, in my indignation at your attacks on John Foxe, the epithets of traitor and apostate to the cause of the church of Christ. I first adopted language of this nature. I am bound, therefore, to make my bow in silence, when my own severity is thus retorted upon me. Pray, proceed !

7. Mr. Townsend can have no ground of complaint, when Mr. Maitland adopts uncourteous language ; for he began first.

It is very true, my friend ; and if you, the librarian, at Lambeth, the scholar, gentleman, clergyman, and protestant (for until you become papist you cannot get rid of that unpopular word), will persevere to be found among the ranks of the papal antagonists of the martyrologist, who first published an Ecclesiastical History in our own language, and did his best to improve and inform his countrymen, so long the arrows which are aimed at that enemy will pierce the joints of your armour.

8. Mr. Townsend is acting under some mistake as to his place in the literary world.

Mr. Townsend is under no mistake in the matter. He feels and knows his place to be exactly where Mr. Maitland would assign it—last, least, lowest, among those who endeavour, not to amuse, but, before he dies, to benefit the world. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

GEORGE TOWNSEND."

College, Durham, Feb. 3, 1842."

VI.

MR. MAITLAND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
MARCH, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—As Mr. Cattley does not think it right to alter or qualify any of the statements contained in his letter published in the *British Magazine* for January, I beg leave to offer the following remarks on some of them.

(1.) Mr. Cattley says, 'How singular that this' [the 1576] 'should be the only edition to which Mr. Maitland should have access now, when there were times in which most of the early editions of John Foxe were on his desk!'—and on the word 'times' in this sentence he puts a note, 'See his former letters on the same subject in the *British Magazine*.'

Of course the insinuation is that I have told a lie; and that in fact I had, or might easily have obtained, access to books which I had been in the habit of using, but that it suited my purpose to pretend that I could not refer to them.

Now, in the first place, I did not say what Mr. Cattley pretends; but only, 'I have not at present access to the editions of 1563 and 1570, and therefore cannot say anything about them; but that of 1576 is on my desk.' What strange infatuation can lead Mr. Cattley to say such things as he does? Is he not aware that if I had had access to the editions of 1563 and 1570 I might have shewn that he was guilty of the same falsehood with regard to *each* of them, as I did shew with respect to the edition of 1576?

Again, it may suit Mr. Cattley's purpose to represent (in spite of my repeated assertions) that the errors pointed out in my letters were the fruit of great research and laborious collation; but if he wishes to maintain any character for veracity, let him produce from those letters any (I will not say proof, but any) pretext, or colour, for saying that I had ever seen any one page printed in the lifetime of John Fox, except the first volume of the *fourth* English edition of 1583. To this hour I am not aware of

having seen the second volume ; but I luckily met with this odd first volume just after Mr. Cattley had begun his publication, the only copy which I possessed before being of the more recent edition of 1596.

(2.) So long as it was believed that the edition of 1576 would countenance Mr. Cattley's statements, it was a 'standard' edition—one of 'the five editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised.' Now that it is found to contradict them, it is such a 'very abbreviated and curtailed edition' that there is 'stupidity and dishonesty' in comparing the new edition with it.

(3.) Mr. Cattley says, 'The editor of that abbreviated edition (who appears to be R. Daye) has wisely omitted, *as I have done*, one of two accounts of the same story.' With this difference, however, that he inserted one version, and Mr. Cattley the other ; and even Mr. Cattley himself will not venture to deny that R. Daye's version is the most correct of the two. It will, however, be seen, that R. Daye (or whoever was the editor) 'omitted' nothing ; but gave the only version which had then appeared.

(4.) Mr. Cattley goes on to say—'Yes, I *have* absolutely omitted one of two accounts, and Mr. Maitland is displeased ! Had I inserted them both, Mr. Maitland would have charged me, as he does my friend, Mr. Townsend, with 'childish parade.' ' It is obvious that I neither said, nor insinuated, that Mr. Cattley was to blame for omitting one of the two accounts ; and, tiresome as it is to notice such petty misrepresentations, it is quite necessary to do so, for those who observe (as well as those who use) the baser arts of controversy know how easy it is, by such means to mislead a reader, and misrepresent the whole of a question.

(5.) The principal matter, however, which requires notice in Mr. Cattley's letter, is what he says respecting these two versions of the story of John Browne, of Ashford.

In his attack on 'W. B.,' contained in first volume of the new edition, p. 490, Mr. Cattley told him that he might find the version which he has given in the new edition, 'in all the *FIVE* editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised.'

I called on Mr. Cattley to specify the pages of those FIVE editions where his version of the story was to be found.

He answers: 'I said before, that in the FOUR standard editions of the Acts and Monuments from 1570 to 1596, the story of John Brown may be found as I have given it.' True; he did say so *before*—that is, in a note in the fifth volume of the Martyrology, published about three years ago; but he knows that we are talking of what he has said just now in the first volume—after that interval, after all the collation of all the editions of which he boasts; now, when he comes forward to bring a charge of wilful and deliberate lying, he says FIVE—but if he is afraid to allude even to that, and falls back on his former incidental statement of FOUR, let us see the pages.

He says, 'I subjoin the references. Edition 1570, p. 927; edition 1596, p. 736; edition 1583, p. 804.' He acknowledges that his version is not in the edition of 1576; and so the FOUR dwindle to THREE.

I believe the first of these references to be entirely fallacious; and that the THREE must be reduced to TWO—that the 'edition 1570, p. 927,' contains nothing but matter wholly foreign⁴—that that edition *nowhere* contains the story as Mr. Cattley has given it—that in a distant part of the volume (p. 1480) it *does* contain that version of the story which Mr. Cattley has *not* given.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

S. R. MAITLAND."

⁴ "Any one who takes the fourth volume of the new edition may see what that page does contain by reading from 'Tours in France,' in the bottom line of p. 172, down to 'utterly denied confes-,' about the middle (line 22) of p. 175. I am indebted for what information I have respecting the edition of 1570 to the Rev. F. W. Collison, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who kindly examined the copy belonging to the University library."

VII.

MR. MAITLAND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
APRIL, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It seems as if Mr. Townsend wrote without recollecting the high probability that those who read what he wrote for the Magazine of March might be the same persons who had read what I wrote in that of February; and that therefore he cannot expect to persuade them that I said what I did not say, or evade, without observation, what I did say. I have no great fear of his imposing on you, or many of your readers, when he represents what I said of the Letter of Lucifer as a 'proposition,' that 'Mr. Townsend defends the letter from the Prince of Darkness to the papist bishops, recorded by Foxe, thanking them for peopling his dominions.'

I need not here reprint my words. Any one who looks at them will see that they contained no such charge; but that they did contain another charge, which Mr. Townsend has not ventured to meet. My charge was—not that he defended or attacked the letter, but that he grossly misrepresented my attack on it. That, whereas I had objected to it simply and solely on the ground that it was profane and impious ribaldry, he had represented me as expressing 'contempt' for it, viewed as a 'libel' on the papists, whose cause he would have his readers believe I was pleading. This was the charge; and this he has not dared to meet. I repeat it; and I add, that it is part of a system of a habitual misrepresentation. It is part of an attempt to carry his point, by turning a question of facts, about which he has not sufficient information to maintain a controversy, into a personal and party question. Whatever he may say now, he cannot unprint his Vindication of Fox, which stands as a witness that he began his part of the controversy—not, as he pretends, with the severity of indignant rebuke, rising with pardonable fervor into a neglect of form and courtesy, and all but truth; no such thing, Sir, and if it had been so, one would like a man all the better for it, but—with a mean attempt to excite personal odium, to injure

private character, and to get up a rabble cry of party. Suppose, Sir, that I am ungrateful—nay, put the horrid vice in its most horrid form, in which it so appalled Mr. Townsend, ungrateful even for preferment—what business is it of his, and what has it to do with Fox¹?

Again, Sir, I think I may ask (without noticing Mr. Townsend's frivolous answer to Mr. Churton's plain question), what have I to do with the Oxford Tracts? How am I responsible for, or concerned with, No. 80 or No. 90? I did not write them, and have never read them; and as to Mr. Townsend's 'entire Charge to the Clergy,' by which he 'publicly and officially' condemned many of the Oxford tracts, I am not aware that I ever saw it, or heard any man, woman, or child, speak as if he, she, or it had either heard or read it. The only possible pretext for connecting my name with the Oxford Tracts at all is, that, with regard to one of them, I published a small pamphlet, expressing in the strongest terms my dissent from its doctrine, and my conviction of its most mischievous tendency. I believe that, except in this pamphlet, no man can find, in anything that I have written, any quotation from, or reference to, any one of the tracts, or any proof that I had ever read one of them. In saying this, I mean no disrespect to the authors of the tracts; but it is a mere fact that my hands have been so full of other matters, appearing more clearly to demand my attention, that I have scarcely read any thing that has been published since the tracts began, and have never had anything like the leisure, or the courage, to undertake such an addition to what seem to me plainer duties, as the investigation of a controversy embracing so many difficult points, and one with which I do not seem to be particularly called on to

¹ A man who gets into the dirt with the single effect of dirtying himself, must expect to be laughed at; and it is besides a just punishment of Mr. Townsend's habitual carelessness about chronology. If he had attended to that, he might have known that every line of what he comments on had been published *before* I was even offered the office which I now hold. Read with the knowledge of this fact, Mr. Townsend's effusions on the matter are very amusing.

meddle. Why, then, does Mr. Townsend talk to me about the Tractarians? Why did he not attack me about the corn laws, or the Diorama in the Regent's Park, now open from ten till dusk, or any of the other things of which I know nothing but what I gather from hearsay or newspaper advertisements? He might as well do it, except that these things would not move the sympathy of the subscribers who have paid for his lucubrations²: while he knows that they will conceive an intense prejudice against anybody whom they are taught to consider as a Tractarian, a traitor, a renegade, and a papist; and he is so clever and so fortunate in hitting on this point, that it not only serves to create prejudice against me, but gives him an opportunity of publishing over and over again the famous Charge which his dear friend Mr. Rivington's degenerate son would not publish at all.

I repeat, Sir, that this talk about the Oxford Tracts is all mere trick—a trick which, by an odd sort of retribution, has just been played on Mr. Townsend himself by the party who employed him, and who, having done with his name, have given him a very abrupt dismissal, just hinting to the subscribers, in very intelligible terms, that the gentleman who has written the Vindication is something very much like an Owenite. I dare say that such a suggestion has answered their purpose better than a volume of argument; but Mr. Townsend did not like it at all. He told them it was 'disrespectful;' and I suppose they laughed³.

² Though as the Record, by a nice distinction, from which I hope we may derive comfort, assures us, we have not subscribed to them.

³ "How could you," says Mr. Townsend, in his reply, "be guilty of the offensive and disrespectful conduct of coupling my name with that of the infidel Owen? How could you imagine for a moment that there could be any similarity between the views of the humble and undoubting Christian and those of that presumptuous charlatan? It is well for me that, though I hope I feel a stain like a wound, I am 'armed so strong in honesty' that I do not feel an accusation to be a disgrace. If I was not too well known among my people, I should be disgraced and dishonoured by your recklessness." There is a good deal of simplicity in Mr. Townsend's question, who really does not seem to recognise the dirty artifice which he had thought it so clever to practise, by coupling my name with that of Eusebius Andrews

2. With regard to the second proposition, I feel it quite unnecessary to add anything to what I said before. Mr. Townsend's eagerness to convict me of saying what might seem disrespectful to great men is very amusing and characteristic; but it cannot need a reply. Mr. Townsend's notions and mine of what is respectful in dealing with one's superiors are obviously different.

3. Mr. Townsend asks me to refer to the passages in Fox in which any other form of church government than that by bishops is defended by the martyrologist.

Some years ago, some Unitarian subscribers to the Bible Society circulated its books with a paper pasted inside the cover, offering a reward to any body who could find the word 'Trinity' any where in the whole volume. Mr. Townsend's cavil is much the same; though there certainly are some things in his writings which make me believe that the apparent ignorance is at least in part sincere and unaffected, and not merely a trick to throw dust in the eyes of ignorant or inconsiderate readers. There were some peculiarities in the case of Fox which might lead us to expect a greater degree of inconsistency in his works than in those of most of his friends; for he was one of the very few non-conformist writers who held preferment in the church. But, independent of this, (which, of course, set him farther off violent measures than many of his party,) the Puritans were notoriously of two classes, whom I may perhaps be allowed to call the Elizabethan and the Mar-prelate. The latter wrote books recommending other forms of government plainly enough, and got hanged for it. But the former, among whom Fox was one of the most devoted, could tolerate the existence of proud prelates as a human ordinance, if the Queen's highness might frock and unfrock them at her pleasure; and if, to the utter defacing of the pope and 'his byrdes,' her Majesty had chosen to deny that he was 'Christ's vicar on earth,' and to take the title herself, I do not suppose that Fox would have made any objection. But the question is not whether, under certain circumstances, Fox could tolerate bishops, or whether he did openly attack the church government, of which the Queen's highness was the head; but

whether a book continually railing in the coarsest and most comprehensive terms against bishops, bishops in general, even if that railing could be accounted for, as Mr. Townsend pretends, by the fact (if it were a fact) that the 'papist bishops, when Foxe lived, were the uniform unrelenting persecutors of the church of Christ;' whether a work which does indeed, as Mr. Townsend admits, speak 'too unreservedly of their order' (nice vindication) is, or is not, of presbyterian tendency? Is it necessary, in order to our considering a book to have a plainly democratic tendency, that it should contain a formal recommendation and defence of any other form of government than that by kings? Is it not sufficient, if it speaks so 'unreservedly of their order' as to set them forth on all occasions as 'blind, bloody, beastly' tyrants, unrelenting persecutors of the people, so selfishly—nay, so wantonly cruel—in all things so particularly diabolical, that one is irresistibly led to speculate on the probable cause which could render so many individuals of different countries and ages so much worse than the rest of their race?

4. The fourth paragraph is, like too much of what Mr. Townsend has been driven to write on this subject, a misrepresentation calculated simply for those who do not know the facts in dispute. How injurious to call on him to vindicate every 'line' in 'a mass of matter three times the amount of Hume's History of England.' It is hardly conceivable how Mr. Townsend could descend to such a misrepresentation. Did he wish his readers to understand that even Fox himself was responsible for every line *in that quantity of matter*? I do not believe that any body can tell how much would remain if the various documents, tracts, and even books, professedly or notoriously written by other persons, were withdrawn from that 'mass of matter.' There was, no doubt, some degree of responsibility incurred by Fox when he published it, but not of a kind that would bind even him to vindicate every page and every line. Still less has Mr. Townsend been called on to do any such thing. It would of course have been unfair and absurd to do it; and because it would have been unfair and absurd, he wishes to represent it as having been done;

and it is one of the most troublesome parts of controversy so conducted, (I mean, with the perpetual recurrence of petty misrepresentations, often the mere fruit of a guilty carelessness, yet often such as charity itself hardly knows how to put in that class,) that unless little misrepresentations are pointed out, and contradicted immediately, they are subsequently taken advantage of by those who use them, and are assumed as matters of fact and grounds of argument. In the January number, p. 26, Mr. Townsend said, 'Mr. Maitland inquires whether Mr. Townsend will vindicate an expression of a man named Purvey, approved by Foxe, 'that every Christian, as well as the priests and clergy, is permitted by the law of God to preach the gospel *privately* to their neighbours.''' In my reply, (Number for February, p. 147,) I charged Mr. Townsend with falsifying this passage, (which he put in inverted commas, and pretended to be an expression of John Purvey, and to which he added a reference to p. 141 of my Letters,) by foisting in the word '*privately*;' a charge which I should think any man of integrity must feel to require immediate confession, contradiction, or explanation. But to this charge Mr. Townsend does not venture to allude; while he complains of being required to vindicate every line in the great mass of matter. To meet this, it is necessary to notice another misstatement in Mr. Townsend's words just quoted, which I did not before embarrass the question by pointing out; but I might have said, and it now seems necessary to say, that I did *not* inquire whether Mr. Townsend would vindicate what Purvey said, (which of course I never expected him to do, and which, as we see, he did not dare to attempt without tacitly falsifying it in such a way as completely to alter its meaning,) but whether in the genuine exercise of his office he would vindicate what Fox said about Purvey. With abundant scorn of the 'shavelings,' Purvey taught, not as Mr. Townsend says, 'that every Christian as well as the priests' might do this or that, but that *all* the predestinate were priests without man's working, and had a right to preach the gospel to their neighbours. Fox, whether he was or was not 'a decided episcopalian,' seems to have thought that this required some

modification, and, in direct contradiction to Purvey's plain statement, added a note—'He meaneth of *private* preaching to their neighbours.' Mr. Townsend improves upon this by telling his readers that Purvey *actually said* 'private,' and endeavours to gain the twofold advantage of representing me, first, as very foolish in thinking that a statement so innocent requires any vindication at all; and, secondly, as very unjust in requiring the vindication at his hands. I cannot help thinking that charges like this require something more than an off-hand statement. 'I have given a general vindication of Foxe against thirteen modern and ancient writers.'

In fact, this statement leads me to break through the order of Mr. Townsend's propositions, which I have hitherto followed. I need not say much on the fifth, as it is only a reply to my question respecting the eleven years spoken of by Mr. Townsend, of which I hope to make use hereafter; and what need be said now on that point will be easier and more intelligibly said if I for the present pass it by, and, in connexion with this statement of Mr. Townsend respecting his 'general' vindication, say something respecting his sixth proposition.

6. 'This,' says Mr. Townsend, 'I must give in Mr. Maitland's refined, courteous, and gentlemanly language:—'Rigmarole and personal reflections will not carry ignorance through when it is so incautious as to desert general propositions for matters of fact.' This is as nearly what I said as can be expected in a quotation by Mr. Townsend; and if it contains anything that is other than refined, courteous, and gentlemanly, I am sorry for it. I do not think it does. And as I have what I consider sufficient reasons for doubting whether Mr. Townsend is a good judge in such matters, especially when they have a particular reference to himself, I am not without hope that you may agree with me. Mr. Townsend is, however, evidently astonished, and exclaims, 'Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! My gentle reader, have I not reason to admire Mr. Maitland's candour more than I admire his manners? Shall I not apply to him, with a little alteration, the words of Pope?—

'Go on, obliging writer, make me see
All that adorns thy pages meet in me?'

Mr. Maitland, I have the honour to be your obedient and faithful humble servant.'

You will observe that Mr. Townsend here takes no notice of 'personal reflection.' Whether this is because he acknowledges that on that point I have said nothing wrong, or whether because he is ashamed to allude to the subject at all, I do not pretend to decide; but as he passes it by without attack, I suppose I need not consider it as requiring defence.

The two charges so shockingly made are of rigmarole and ignorance; and though I feel that I am trespassing on your pages, I cannot help requesting space for one or two remarks on them, because they relate, of course, not so much to what Mr. Townsend has written in this Magazine, as to the 'general propositions' and 'general vindication' to which he finds it so convenient to refer. It will be in your recollection that the remark originated in Mr. Townsend's giving up at once the defence of Fox in a specific charge of unfair quotation from a Register, and throwing down the gauntlet in defence of some 'two general propositions,' I do not yet know what. In like manner, he here tells us that he has 'given a general vindication' of Fox. As this general vindication has not yet been examined, Mr. Townsend may, of course, refer to it in any terms which he thinks fit to use; but I venture to say, that whenever it is examined, it will be found most fully to bear out the charges of rigmarole and ignorance. You may suppose that I am not going to enter on a full defence of these charges here; but with reference to the first, suffer me to give an extract from the 'Record' newspaper, the organ of the party who projected and patronized the New Edition, and who, while enumerating 'the merits of this edition' in that newspaper, told us, 'A Memoir, drawn from the *most authentic sources*, will be prefixed to the work, together with a dissertation upon the main principles and facts involved from the pen of Mr. Prebendary Townsend, *whose ability to do justice to the subject will not be*

questioned'. What does the 'Record' say now? or rather, what was it eager to say, in a leading article, so immediately after the publication of the volume, as Dec. 9, 1841—

'The subscribers for a new edition of that noble work, 'The Acts and Monuments,' by John Foxe, are at length gratified by the appearance of the first volume, which completes the set. The publishers are entitled to thanks for the readiness with which they undertook a task pressed upon them by several eminent clergymen and others, and the more so, because we regret to learn that the great expense they have incurred will not be remunerated by the price paid by the subscribers. They have rendered an essential service to the cause of truth by their undertaking, and if the new edition be not all that could be desired, its imperfections are not to be imputed to any parsimonious neglect or other failure of engagement on the part of Messrs. Seeley and Burnside.

But while we only do an act of justice in making this acknowledgment, *we cannot conceal our disappointment with the introductory matter* prefixed to the first volume by Mr. Prebendary Townsend. We had anticipated from his pen what he had promised, and what we presumed he was able to furnish, a preface, in which 'the pious martyrologist should be fully vindicated from the attacks of his assailants.'

Instead of this apology for John Foxe, the subscribers to the *Acts and Monuments* are presented with *an apology for the Rev. George Townsend's failure to redeem his pledge*, and no less than forty-two pages are consumed by a letter addressed to a friend, containing what we may term *the prospectus of a totally different work*, which is much more akin to an essay on the origin of evil, than to an introduction to the persecutions of the true church of Christ. In short, we are informed that the reverend gentleman was so far led astray from his original design, that he 'framed the plan, developed the details, and has actually written a large portion of a work,' which would *already 'fill ten numbers of the Quarterly Review.'* Under such circumstances, Mr. Townsend is clearly right in considering his incipient lucubrations as 'too large to be considered merely as a *preface* to Foxe;' and even without his own candid admission of the fact, we could have anticipated his acknowledgment—'The publishers of this book are not to be condemned—I alone am to be blamed.'

We venture, however, to think that Messrs. Seeley might have been exonerated from blame, without the infliction on the subscribers to Foxe of forty-two pages of *very doubtful and occasionally objectionable matter*. We still further venture to think, that the second part of the introduction to this edition, namely, its vindication 'from the attacks' of Foxe's 'assailants,' should not have been intrusted to an anonymous author, who, *either from want of experience or other causes, is not, at least on the present occasion, likely to wear*

'the laurel' which Mr. Townsend promises he shall not lose if it be won. We shall hereafter have occasion to notice his rash adoption of Mr. P. F. Tytler's attempt to rake up and present in a new form, the long exploded and false accusation against John Knox, of being accessory to the murder of Rizzio, an accusation so eagerly seized on by O'Connell, in the last session of parliament, as a weapon with which to assail protestants, but one which has been once more completely refuted by the son of Knox's biographer.

We cannot, at present, stop to discuss this part of the introduction to Foxe, and only allude to it as a specimen of the *rashness and incompetency of the unknown writer*, and in the hope that the publishers will, in justice to their subscribers, take care that the page containing this foul aspersion on the memory of a great and good protestant reformer, shall be among those which are to be cancelled. In the meantime we are obliged to *enter our protest against the letter itself, for which Mr. Townsend is directly responsible*. We have already said that it contains sentiments which call for animadversion, and the more so, as it seems to stand in connexion with the long list of subscribers, of whom we are persuaded that no small proportion will feel obliged by our pointing out that they are subscribers to the noble work of the great martyrologist, and not to the *letter* of Mr. Townsend, or the *preliminary dissertation* of his anonymous friend⁴.

You will readily imagine, Sir, that I quote this statement of the 'Record' only as extorted testimony to a fact from the party who were Mr. Townsend's own sponsors—as the evidence of those who are likely to know most of Mr. Townsend's vindication, and who are under the greatest temptation to make the best of it,—and viewed in this light, it does seem to offer some corroboration of my charge that Mr. Townsend has somewhat indulged in 'rigmarole⁵.'

⁴ It appeared by Mr. Townsend's reply that the 'Record' was under a misconception, as to his having entrusted any part of either the letter or the preliminary dissertation to another writer. 'I cannot,' he says, 'imagine what you mean when you say that I have intrusted the defence of Foxe to an anonymous author. I have written the whole of it myself.'

⁵ It may, perhaps, be injustice to Mr. Townsend to make even that use of it without adverting to the curious and characteristic fact, that while the previous certificate of Mr. Townsend's unquestionable ability to do justice to the subject is signed by three well-known and highly respected clergymen—Mr. Pratt, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Bridges, the rebuke of Mr. Townsend, the utter repudiation of his performance, the delicate hint that 'Mr. Owen had

Secondly, as to ignorance. Is it compatible with refinement, courtesy, and gentlemanlike conduct to charge a man with ignorance? Ignorance is bliss, indeed, if it gives a man licence to rant forth whatever he pleases, to the amazement of the illiterate, without fear of check or contradiction. Is ignorance a thing so sacred? Or should I, when I see it boasting, bragging, and bullying, to the utter perversion of truth, creep to its feet and beg permission by some sweet periphrastic innuendo to insinuate its existence? I am sorry Mr. Townsend does not like my way of making a charge; but he cannot be more disgusted with my way than I am with his. For instance, in his 'Remarks' on one of what he calls my 'errors,' he says, 'Mr. Maitland's seventh error would be denominated by writers less gentle, mild, and bland than myself, by another epithet. Mr. Maitland has made a positive affirmation which is decidedly and most exceedingly erroneous.' Now, of course, he means to tell his readers that I have told a wilful lie; and so different are our notions, that what seems to him gentle, mild, and bland, appears to me to be a very mean and shabby way of doing it. I hope to shew, as soon as I can get leisure, that neither in this, nor the other 'errors' which Mr. Townsend pretends that he has found, have I told any lie, or made any erroneous statement; but our business at present is simply with the manner in which a charge of ignorance should be made, even supposing it to be lawful to make one at all; and even this would require more space than can be afforded in a letter already so long. You will, therefore, I hope, allow me to say that though I shall be happy to put it in any form which on full discussion shall be considered best, yet I cannot withdraw my charge of ignorance, and, as the most unobjectionable way of justifying it, I will give you an extract from the 'general vindication,' which will, I think, astonish some of your readers, and

some such schemes,' and at length the absolute dismissal of the vindicator, with a pithy certificate of his theological attainments for the 'Record' readers, that 'salvation and damnation are infinitely more than Mr. Townsend describes,' all this, and much more than this, in one long leading article after another, is *anonymous*.

which will lead them to suspect that 'the whole preface of five hundred pages' contains matter quite sufficient to shew that if the charge of ignorance is not gentlemanly, or bland, it has the more honest and respectable quality of being true.

Fox, in the course of a paragraph which treats 'Of the treason of the Pope against Frederic' the Emperor, gives a letter 'concerning the same.' In that letter the writer tells the emperor that John Brennus, late King of Jerusalem, having collected a great army, 'giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together, (*by what means I cannot tell,*) great wages, in hope to recover and get from you the empire⁶.' When I looked for this letter in Matthew Paris, from whom Foxe professed to have taken it, I found the original to be 'sub spe imperii si vos possit subigere, *de thesauris apostolicis* suis militibus stipendia ministrat'. On this I said—and if it seems that I treated so profound a subject with any improper degree of levity, I hope I shall be pardoned, for I can most truly assure you that I did not dream that any reader would be misled, or be in danger of it—it is certain that I did say, that one could only account for so strange a translation by supposing 'that Fox meant to speak what is in his parenthesis in his own person, and frankly to say that he did not know how to translate '*de thesauris apostolicis*.''

Now, Sir, I can imagine that you would not be surprised to find Mr. Townsend rebuking me for suggesting, even by way of jest, the bare possibility that Fox, who knew that he was writing about troops raised for the pope's purposes, could be ignorant that they were likely to be paid out of the *treasury* of the *apostolic* see, and that such must, of course, be the meaning of the words; but what will you say to the following criticism?

'Foxe is charged with being totally ignorant how to translate the words '*de thesauris apostolicis*,' from the apostolical treasures. So am I; so is Mr. Maitland; so, at least, is every one of the learned friends whom I have consulted.

⁶ New Edition, vol. ii. p. 472.

⁷ Matt. Par. an. 1249, vol. ii. p. 771, quoted in 5th letter in the British Mag.

The Latin is—*Johannes præfatus, de regno Francorum, et aliis conterminis regionibus, militiam contrahens non modicam; sub spe imperii, si vos posset subigere, de thesauris apostolicis, suis militibus stipendia ministrat.*

Foxe thus translates:—‘The aforesaid John Brennus, gathering out of France and other provinces near and adjoining, a great army, giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together (*by what means I cannot tell*), great wages, in hope to recover from you the empire.’

‘Foxe, that is, affirms that he could not translate the expression ‘apostolicis thesauris;’ and I ask, what the apostolical treasures were? Had Brennus robbed churches? Had he plundered the treasuries of cathedrals, bishops, or clergy? Had he employed the priesthood to promise absolution for money, that the proceeds might be given to him? Mr. Maitland is right in his conjecture, that Foxe meant to say he could not translate the expression. His critic, it is observable, however, does not translate it himself, but passes on with the remark, that on this translation it is not worth while to comment*.’

I think it is ‘not worth while to comment’ on this criticism of Mr. Townsend and his ‘learned friends.’ Such ignorance cannot (as I have already intimated) be concealed under rigmarole about traitors and renegades, and papists and tractarians.

I should now recur to Mr. Townsend’s fifth proposition, but that I feel myself already trespassing on your pages, and it would take a good deal of room to shew that the reply which he has given to my question respecting the eleven years occupied in writing the *Martyrology* is a strong confirmation of my charge of ignorance. I hope to use it in a reply to his ‘Remarks,’ which want of leisure has hitherto prevented my publishing, except so

* Life of Fox, p. 322. After what I have said of these wretched petty misrepresentations in this letter, I must not quote these words of Mr. Townsend’s without observing that I did not pass on ‘with the remark that on this translation it is not worth while to comment.’ How could I have said so when I was just showing that I did think it worth while to comment on it? My words were these, “On this translation, *in other respects*, it is not worth while to comment.”—Letters, p. 59. The obvious meaning of which was, that I was aware of other minor inaccuracies in the translation, and passed by them, not because I did not see them, but because in comparison with the glaring one for which the passage was quoted, they were not worth notice. I certainly did not dream that Mr. Townsend would want a translation.

far as concerns the points mentioned in the correspondence begun by Mr. Townsend in the 'John Bull' newspaper, and printed by you in the Number for March.

The seventh and eighth propositions are very amusing, especially the representation that I have claimed a right to use uncourteous language; but very harmless.

I am, dear Sir, y ours truly,

S. R. MAITLAND."

VIII.

MR. TOWNSEND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
MAY, 1842.

"SIR,—In your last number you have admitted a letter, consisting of nine pages, signed 'S. R. Maitland,' on Foxe's Martyrology. In this letter I meet such expressions as these:—

Mr. Townsend's manner of meeting this charge is—'*part of a system of habitual misrepresentation.*'—p. 418, line 12.

Mr. Townsend began this part of the controversy with—'*a mean attempt to excite personal odium, to injure private character, and to get up a rabble cry of party.*'—p. 418, line 21.

Mr. Townsend '*does not seem to recognise the dirty artifice, which he had thought it so clever to practise.*'—p. 419, note, line 9.

I feel myself utterly unable to contend any longer with such language. I withdraw from the contest. I leave Mr. Maitland uncontrolled master of the field, and congratulate him on his victory.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND."

PURITAN THAUMATURGY.

SECTION I.—PROPHECIES.

THE claim of the puritans to be considered as persons possessing supernatural gifts and powers, is a very curious feature in their history, and one on which we might justly have hoped that a new life of Fox would throw considerable light. I find however very little about it in Mr. Townsend's work; and that little, as will be seen presently, is calculated rather to prevent, than to promote, the investigation and right understanding of the subject.

The influence exercised over the puritans themselves, and which they exercised over others, even over such as had no religious feeling in common with them, is a point which deserves a much fuller investigation than it has ever received. But it would require more space than can be allowed for it on such an occasion as this, and more information than I possess. It is a subject on which one only catches occasional glimpses, just enough to show that there

was a great deal that was very curious going on, but which the parties concerned, partly from that sort of secrecy which commonly attends and gives a zest to sectarianism of all kinds, and partly because they had little or no motive or means for writing a history of their proceedings, kept pretty much to themselves. How strange it is that of more than twenty years which Fox appears to have spent in England, and chiefly in London, after the publication of his Martyrology, we know scarcely any thing. Of course a very moderate degree of industry would have added to the two grains of wheat which patience may discover in Mr. Townsend's bushel of chaff; but still it may well be doubted whether if he had possessed the qualifications necessary for the work which he undertook, Mr. Townsend could have penetrated and dispersed the obscurity which surrounds the personal history of Fox, and the proceedings of his friends and followers. I am not now pretending to do any such thing; but unless I say something to illustrate and justify what I have stated at p. 17, many persons will hardly believe it. They will think it strange, and almost incredible, that Fox's friends should have deliberately and seriously believed him to be endowed with supernatural gifts. Indeed, the faith and feeling of English Christians has so altered, that if there had not lately been (as I believe there still are) persons of respectable character openly making the same claims, and advancing the same pretensions for themselves and each other, I should

hardly expect to gain credit at all. Those who by the falsehoods and suppressions of party writers have been led into simple admiration of the Puritans, while at the same time they have made up their minds to disbelieve, at all hazards, every thing that looks supernatural, because the Romanists believe too much, will not perhaps like this comparison; but facts cannot be altered to meet their prejudices, and their only resource will be to confine themselves to such historians as Mr. Townsend, who seems to make the probable credulity of his readers his guide. Professing to be the biographer of Fox, he does not seem to think it his business to enquire, or to state, whether Fox, or his friends, held an opinion which was in itself very curious, and which must have had such an important influence on their proceedings, but is rather considering whether the thing would make for or against the subject of his biography. People will not, he imagines, believe that Fox was *really* inspired, and therefore it is better to say nothing, or as little as possible, about the matter. It will not tell favourably. It cannot be quite suppressed, but it must be slurred over. Surely one cannot but pity a biographer whom contending fears of being thought either sceptical or credulous, joined with a morbid anxiety to make his hero acceptable to "the present age," constrain to write such matter as the following:—

"A strange anecdote is related by his son, which the present age would call a singular coincidence, but which our ancestors

would attribute to divine interposition. I am willing to believe any thing on sufficient evidence. The testimony on which this anecdote rests is the affirmation of Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London. 'He was accustomed,' says Mr. Samuel Foxe, 'in the presence of many living persons, to declare that he was present at a sermon, wherein Master Foxe, among many other things which he preached to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them, that now was the time come for their return to England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God. For these words,' says his son, 'he was sharply reprov'd by the graver divines there present.' He was, however, excused afterwards by the event; for, by comparing dates, it was found that the queen died but the day preceding the prediction uttered by Foxe.

It is most probable that the martyrologist, on considering the cruelties in England—the depression of the protestant cause on the Continent—the promises of God that the pure truths of Christianity and the faith of the catholic church should never perish—had inferred, that the time had arrived when these promises would appear to be overthrown, unless some great deliverance had occurred; and he concluded that such deliverance could be only obtained by the death of the queen. The conclusion so rested on his mind, that it influenced his imagination, and became eventually the conviction of his reason, a portion of his faith, and the substance of a sermon. He expressed his belief in the form of a prophecy."—p. 120.

"Most probable,"—really it is the oddest account that I ever heard of the rise and progress of a sermon, and I hope that Mr. Townsend's own homilies do not turn up out of any such process—yet what else could lead any man to imagine such a theory? Fox, however, did not prophesy, but "he expressed his belief in the form of a prophecy:" this would be sad hair-splitting, even if it were quite free from more

important objection. But it is not merely what an old writer, whom I shall have occasion presently to quote, calls a "glozing blindation" of a story which Mr. Townsend does not venture to suppress, it is directly opposed to the very words of that story. Does not Mr. Townsend himself tell us that Fox did *not* say what he did, as an expression of belief, but distinctly told his hearers that "*he brought them that news BY COMMANDMENT FROM GOD.*" Could he have more decidedly assumed the prophetic office, or more plainly professed to be the subject of "a divine afflatus?" I cannot but express my astonishment at the boldness with which Mr. Townsend attempts to turn things (even things before people's eyes) into what he wishes them to be. If he likes to throw the story overboard as a fiction, let him do so; but he has no right to falsify it.

The only other passage which I have observed in Mr. Townsend's work, relating to this subject, is the following:—

"He devoted himself to these higher meditations, as one who had found in them an invaluable treasure. He bent his eyes and his mind on these alone, so stedfastly, that he both spoke and did many things beyond those of ordinary good men; so that many honoured him as one who seemed to speak to them by a superhuman power, and were willing to pay him honour which ought not to be given to the best of mortals. Some anecdotes are related by his son, which illustrate the power he was supposed to possess of predicting the future restoration to perfect health of some who were diseased, and believed themselves to be dying, and the consequent veneration in which he was held. The agree-

ment of the event, however, with the sanguine prediction of the best of men, would be considered only as a coincidence in the present day; when the attempt is being daily, though vainly, made to resolve even the well authenticated miracles of the Scripture into natural and common events. I purposely, therefore, omit all the circumstances to which I allude, knowing they will be deemed to be incredible, whether they be true or false." —p. 218¹.

Our question, however, is not whether these claims were true or false, but what they were in themselves, and in what way they were preferred; and therefore I will here give the account which Mr. Townsend omits. The Memoir-writer says:—

"I will neither mince the truth of any story, nor will I with additions flatter Report. Many things did Master Fox foretell, by occasion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying those that were stubborn, to which the event proved after answerable, and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what constancy, whilst he remained at Basil among his banished Country-men, he signified the times of their return. It is likewise well known, what Answer he gave concerning that noble and vertuous Woman, the Lady Anne Hennage, who lying sick of a violent Feaver, when the Disease had so far increased, that the Physitians had pronounced it deadly, Master Fox was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of, in matters appertaining to her Soules health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading Prayers, and comforting the sick

¹ I cannot quote these two passages without calling the reader's attention to the repeated mention of Fox's son as the author of the Memoir. Not merely to the fact, but to the manner. Is it that of a man who had ever indulged even a latent suspicion that the document quoted might be spurious?

Woman, with such perswasions as seemed good to him ; Well have you done (said he) and according to your duty, to prepare yourself for all events ; but know this from me, That of this sickness you shall not die. By chance, among those who stood by, was Sir Moyle Finch, a well known and honourable Knight, the Ladies Son in law, who either moved with so unusual a Speech, or desirous to get somewhat more out of him, as soon as Master Fox was a little withdrawn from the rest of the company, began seemingly to chide with him ; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the Artists, he being an unskilful man, should presume to determine the end of the Disease, and by so doing bring the sick Woman, by condition of her Sex, wavering, yet hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope and expectation of life : if his Mother in law might be likely to live, that no man had more cause of joy than himself ; but if her death were indeed at hand, it befitted no man less to dissemble it, than he, who ought to provide for the good of her Soul : that he did therefore, for the friendship he bare him, much fear, lest, by that untimely word, he had lost a great part of the good opinion which men had formerly of his truth and modesty. To this Master Fox, *smiling*, made answer, That for his part he hindred not any man to think of him as he pleased ; but concerning the sick Lady, *it had seemed good unto God*, that she should recover of that Disease ; and that *he had said no more than was commanded him*. The Lady recovered : nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no less true was that story of Mistriss Honiwood, an honourable Gentlewoman who had almost twenty years lain sick of a Consumption through Melancholy, neither did any one seem to have advice or courage sufficient against the force of so mischievous a Disease, though she had already consulted with the gravest Divines, and the best Physitians and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perswading were accounted to excel the rest. At length she sent also for Mr.

Fox. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entred into a more heavy or afflicted house. There sate by the sick Woman to attend her, her Friends, Kinsfolk, Children and Servants, some upon Seats, and some on the Chamber-floor, not weeping or sighing, as those commonly do that lament, but having spent all their tears, resolutely silent, neither rising to those that came in, nor answering those who asked any question, as if that also became their mourning; you might have guest them so many statues of Mourners in humane likeness. The sick Woman lay upon her Bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent sighs, faintly breathing forth some few words, the effect whereof was, That she desired to end her days. Master Fox when he had so many Patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief so violent would make strong resistance, to attempt any thing in vain, lest, in not being by reason overcome, they might seem to have had reason on their sides, left all other means of consolation, and what he thought necessary to cure their afflicted minds, he diligently mingled with his Prayers; so that within a few days, they who were thought impossible, by mans help to be cured, did now seem of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himself, he then told her, That she should not only grow well of that Consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age. At which words the sick Gentlewoman a little moved, and earnestly beholding Master Fox: As well might you have said (quoth she) that if I should throw this Glass against the Wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces; and holding a Glass in her hand, out of which she had newly drunk, she threw it forth; neither did the Glass, first by chance lighting on a little Chest standing by the Bed-side, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it: And the event fell out accordingly. For the Gentlewoman, being then threescore years of age, lived afterward for all example of felicity, seldom seen in the Off-spring of any Family, being able, before the 90 year of her age, (for she lived longer) to reckon three

hundred and threescore of her Childrens² Children and Grandchildren.

I could here relate many stories of like nature, but they, for the most part, being dead, who might justifie the Particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deserve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it should need to be confirmed by Witnesses.

Master Fox went one day, in duty, as his custom was, to see the Earl of Arundel, Son to the Duke of Norfolk, and Father to this Right Honourable Earl now living. The Earl, in his courtesie, when he was going away, brought him to the Water-side, at the lower end of his garden; but observing the River very rough by the suddain rising of the Winds, he counselled Master Fox not to trust himself in so boisterous a Tempest upon the Waters. But he continuing in his resolution of going; So my Lord (quoth he) let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken: and with that entring into the Boat, before they could put off from the Bridge, the Wind ceased, and the River began to run with a smoother stream."

It would, as I have already said, be very fair for any one who could conscientiously do it, to treat all these stories as mere fables, and to deny that Fox ever did or said any such things as are ascribed to him; but it

² "Among which at this day, to wit, in the year of our Lord, 1641, in which this book is set forth, there liveth Mrs. Grace Hennage, the Daughter of the said Mistress Honiwood, a Gentlewoman of great worth and the Widow of an honourable Gentleman, Master Michael Hennage, who affirmeth, that she was present at the same time this was done, being a witness of more integrity, and more sincere than that her Testimony should without great wrong be doubted of."

is a fraud on the reader to suppress, or misstate, the fact of their having been so ascribed. It is indeed a fraud which a partial biographer of Fox, in the "present age" of "singular coincidences," and lucky hits, may be much tempted to commit, but one which, if he has any moderate acquaintance with Fox's own works, the age in which he lived, and the party to which he belonged, he must feel to be extremely liable to exposure.

Let us, instead of trying to bring Fox into exact conformity with the "present age," give a few minutes to the consideration of the general opinion on the subject in that age to which he belonged. I have elsewhere said, what I need not here repeat, of the degree in which the Lollards were influenced by prophecies³, and of the way in which those predictions were countenanced by Luther, and circulated at the time of the Reformation. I may here add that there probably never was a time when the public mind was more fully occupied with such things than during the reign of Elizabeth; and, in proof of this, I will give a few extracts from some of the writers of the period. The first of these is Francis Coxe, the author of a work, entitled "A short treatise, declaringe the detestable wickednesse of magicall sciences, as necromancie, conjurations of spirites, curiouse astrologie and such lyke;" which was, as we

³ British Magazine, July, 1842.

learn from the Colophon, "Imprinted at London at the long shop, next to S. Mildred's church in the Pultrye, by Iohn Alde⁴."

"I thought it my part [having, as he has just before told us, "stode before her graces most honorable counsayll to receive determinate Sentence for my wicked offences,"] manifestly to declare and open the wickedness of those arts and sciences, which hath of late time, to the provocation of God's wrath and Almighty displeasure, ben had in such estimation, yea, rather veneration, that without it the whole state of men (except a few) would do in maner nothing, yea, it grew into such credit with men, that not only they judged the course of natural things thereby to be governed, but also that part which God hath and doth reserve to himself, and his determination, as the mind of man, and such like. Nay they ceased not here, but so blinded and bewitched the wits of men that scant durst they credit God himself, if it seemed that their blinded propheties any time would make contradiction. How well this appeared in the year of our Lord God 1559 at what time our most noble sovereign began her imperial government and reign over us, all men may judge and easily perceive. For although it was well known unto all men, what love and godly zeal, her royal majesty had and did bear to the true prophets of God, his afflicted flock and word of the cross, yet did the people so waver, the whole realm was so troubled and so moved with the blind enigmatical and devilish propheties of that heaven-gazer Nostradamus, in such sort, that even those which in their hearts could have wished the glory of God and his word most flourishing to be established, were brought into such an extreme coldness of faith, that they doubted God had forgotten his promise, yea, they hung so choysly between the heavenly

⁴ The edition from which I make this extract has no date; but it seems from Herbert's edition of Ames (II. 889), that an edition was published in 1561.

fountain of hope and the bottomless pit of utter desperation, that in doubt it was to which they would adhere or stick, so great was the infection of this pestilential poisoned lying prophesies."—p. 8.

He afterwards tells us ;—

"The people were grown unto such a folly, that scant would they ride or go any journey, unlesse they consulted either with these blind prophets, or at the least with their prophesies, which yearly to no little hurt, both in the faith of Christ, and wealth of the realm, were without all shame divulged."—p. 11.

The next writer has a peculiar claim to be quoted, not only because when he was between forty and fifty years of age, he compressed into a close-printed quarto the notes on this very subject, which he had been collecting ever since he was fifteen, and published them under the name of "A Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophesies ;" but because he was Fox's own pupil, being no less a person than Henry Howard, (or as he spelt it, I suppose to give his readers the right pronunciation, H~~o~~warde,) who afterwards became Earl of Northampton. The very fact of his having devoted so much time, and published so large a work, is sufficient evidence of his opinion on a point respecting which he was well able to judge ; and, from his pedantic far-rago of learned verbiage, I will at present give but one extract :—

"The most pestilent and bitter roote, from whence the prophesies have drawn their head, and received, as it were, their life and soule : is curiositie to search and hunt for deeper knowledge, of

the future causes and affairs of the common wealth, then it pleaseth God to discover and reveale by ordinarie meanes : As how long the Prince shall raigne ? Who shall succcede and by what meane ? What houses shall recover or decaye ? Of what qualitie the prince shall be, with such like mysteries, and the reason why this fountain is more pestilent than any of the rest : is cheefely, because it perceth and approacheth neerer to the quicke of man's delight, in so much, as I my selfe have beene acquainted with some godly persons, and such as neyther doubted of God's sure defence, nor lent their eares to words of light report : which were notwithstanding, woonderfully rauished and bewitched with this intycing humour."—*Sig. E. 3.*

Henry Howard's work was published in the year 1583^b; but the predictions which were abroad that

^b The full title is "A Defensative agaynst the poyson of supposed prophesies : not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man, which being grounded, eyther vppon the warrant and authority of olde paynted bookes, expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of damned spirites, Judicialles of Astrologie, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, De futuris contingentibus : have been causes of great disorder in the common wealth, and cheefely among the simple and vnlearned people : very needefull to be published at this time, considering the late offence which grew by most palpable and grosse errors in Astrology."

The reader who wishes for more information respecting this book may find it in Strype's Annals under this year, Vol. III. Part i. p. 292, Oxford edition. I give the full title because it is not quite correctly given there. I am not aware that there was any pretence of editorial care in the Oxford reprint of Strype's Memorials and Annals ; and, therefore, perhaps one has no right to complain that his errors have been preserved, and his obscurities left to explain themselves. But it is most desirable that there should be a better edition.

something wonderful was to characterize the year 1588, gave rise to another book by John Harvey, published in that year, and dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord High Chancellor of England. It is entitled "A discursive probleme concerning prophesies, how far they are to be valued, or credited, according to the surest rules, and directions in Divinitie, Philosophie, Astrologie, and other learning: Devised especially in abatement of the terrible threatenings, and menaces, peremptorily denounced against the Kingdoms, and states of the world this present famous yeere, 1588. supposed the Great woonderfull, and fatall yeere of our age. By I. H. Physition." He tells us ;—

" I have made some little trial myself in some kinds of artificial experiments, but howsoever I have otherwhiles seemed favourably addicted to some mens philosophical and astronomical predictions (which of the two I esteem far more probable, and warrantable than these prophetical propositions, and heretical expositions :) I cannot yet perceive either any assured verity, or conjectural probability in any such old said sawes, as still pass, and repasse for currant in many mens, womens, and childrens mouths, not in one or two odd obscure corners but through many, and many famous places, and in a manner everywhere, upon the smallest occasion of every trifling occurrent, or accident, eftsoons buzzing, and dreaming of this, and that alteration, of such, and such innovation, of changes in religion, of subversion of states, of destruction, or desolation of principalities, Kingdoms and monarchies, of the universal confusion, and dissolution of the universal world."—p. 34.

" Myself have as well purposely as incidently run over many prophesies fathered upon Merlin, yea, more, I dare say, than ever that counterfet wrot, some in verse, othersome in prose ; some in

latin, othersome in english ; some written, some imprinted : some in common letters, othersome in newfound Alphabets, and mysticall characters ; whereof amongst many of the same stampe, behold one trim Hexameter relique which a certain unlearned empirical imposter first shewed me, anno 1580. for a very speciall deep secret, and profound mathematicall monument, as he supposed, being raggedly scrawled in od disguised maner of astrologicall characters, as insueth," &c.—p. 52.

"Alas what fond and vain expectation hath a long time rested in the minds not of one or two or a few, but of great multitudes of the simpler sort in England about King Edward the Sixt, as though they were sure either of his arising from death, or his return from I know not what Jerusalem, or other strange land : A mad conceit, yet whereupon grounded, but only upon the silly devises of such copesmates ? And what counterfet suborned marchants of base parentage, have sithence ranged abroad in the countrie presuming to terme themselves by the roiall name of King Edward ?"—p. 61.

"Why then, or to what end, or ends, have they breathed out so loude, boisterous, and troublefull blasts ? Why, but to terrifie, and afray the world, to skar simple folke, to bring men into a fooles paradise, to raise matter of common fearfulness, and dreadfulness : to finde idle heads, and busie braines occupied : to keepe the world in continuall awe, and to their appropriate purposes, in good quiet order : to breede doubts, and quandaries in other, that themselves might onely inioy the fuller, and deeper securitie. Hypocriticall and Pharisaicall ends, sophisticall purposes, speculative conceits, which either being mistaken, and misconstrued, or else too much credited and esteemed, how easily may they occasion, and ingender troublesome sturs, tumults, uprores, seditions, mutinies, garboiles, commotions, insurrections, rebellions, private myseries, common mischiefes, publique calamities, and desolations ? Such finall ends as commonly overthrow, and destroy the best established states, and at length bring most flourishing kingdomes, principalities, and commonwealthes to their finall

ends, even most woofull, most dolefull, and most horrible ends ; such in effect, and in conclusion, or rather in confusion, are the ends of such wretched, and wicked prophesies, the very prophesies of the diuell, to undoo, and destroy the world.”—p. 71.

The foregoing extracts are all taken from the “first part or section” of the work “discoursing in generall, of, and against, supposed prophesies, with all such pretended traditions.” At the beginning of “The second Part or Section: specially examining and discussing the speciall prophesie of this famous yeere 1588,” the writer says ;—

“I am now at the earnest and urgent request of certaine worshipfull gentlemen, and diuers other my familiar friends ; more specially and severally to labour, and examine one more speciall notorious prophesie, touching this long expected woonderfull yeere, 1588. A prophesie not so seldom as once or twice termed of the said gentlemen, the onely particularitie of particularities, and specialtie of specialties in this later propheticall kind.” p. 87.

And then having run over a list of

“fantasticall, vaine, and troublesome oracles, or prophesies ; and consequently of all other extraordinarie and irregular visions, fantasies, traunces, dreames, anabaptisticall revelations, Seraphical illuminations, metaphysicall extasies, enthusiasticall furies, ravishments, and excesses of spirit, fascinations, invocations, incantations, abjurations, exorcismes, suspensions, alligations, characters, seales, rings, pertacles, images, balmes, consecrations, periapts, amulets, sacrifices, suffumigations, purifications, lotteries, orizons, collects, ceremonies, and such like superstitious and diabolicall implements, togither with their semblable equivocations, amphibologies, allegories, anagogies, hyperboles, mysteries, mystagogies,

metamorphoses, and other whatsoever spritish sophistrie, or hellish rhetorique ;”—

He goes on to say ;—

“But touching the substance, and circumstance of the peremptorie dsmall prophesie, of 88, as in phrase and stile it seemeth more directly simple, plaine, and sensible than the rest, and in fame surpasseth them all ; being *commonly handled, and canvassed even amongst the best, in most places of Europe* : so it is *universally* more feared, or at least suspected and doubted, than any of them, or than all they together, as being more credibly, or probably grounded upon some surer foundation of lawfull art, or profound science, or autentique experience, or I wot not what other ancient approbation ; and not to be deemed any idle fansie, vaine speculation, or forged invention : as some even of the learnedest sort have not only imaginatively presupposed, but also resolutely believed : insomuch, that thereupon they have nothing doubted to publish their censures, and like letters patents, or commendatorie testimonials, to commit the same unto the common view, and perusall of the world.”—p. 88.

I shall not, I hope, be understood as ascribing this state of things to the Puritans. I make these extracts merely to show that *it was* the state of things. There can be no doubt that every sect and faction had its share in promoting it, and was influenced by it⁶. The Puritans were ready to defend the

⁶ Of course those who made or used the current predictions had no security that some sharper wit might not turn their own weapons against them. Strype in his account of the “deliberation about suppression of abbeys,” gives us one of the “writings preparatory” which he supposes to have been written by “Dr. Richard Cox, a very memorable man, afterward tutor to Prince Edward, Dean of Westminster, and lastly bishop of Ely,” in

Reformation on the grounds of Scripture and reason, but they were obviously delighted to believe and to tell how that Reformation had been predicted by a long line of prophets, without perhaps very minutely enquiring whether their predictions had derived any encouragement from existing circumstances, or had any influence in bringing about their own fulfilment. "Let us," says Fox, "return unto the martyrs, but before we do enter into that lamentable story, we do think it worth our labour, to show first certain pro-

which the writer says, with relation to a plan which he had just proposed ;—

"And this should seem to be the exalting and lifting up of the son of a noble mother, that is spoken of in a little writing that beginneth thus, *Consurget furor contra simplicem*, &c. which writing, though it be not of authority, yet I suppose verily that it is true. And in the latter end of the said writing it is said thus, *Filius inclytæ matris feliciter sublimabitur, et in manibus ejus potestas et gloria. In utraque insula fiet pax diebus ipsius et orrea [horrea] gleba implebuntur*. And those words may it seems be conveniently applied to Queen Elizabeth, mother to the king; and to the king himself; and also to londs and islands.

"And first, that the said Queen Elizabeth [viz. King Henry VII his queen] was a noble mother, and a noble woman, it may appear thus. She was the right heir to the bloud royal of the Saxons," &c.—*Mem.* vol. i. Part i. p. 420.

The writer goes on with the application, which it is not necessary to quote; but it is worth while to add Strype's comment ;—

"The foresaid writing seems to have been some pretended prophecy spread about in these times, perhaps by some of the monks, ill willers to the king and his proceedings, which this writer converted to a more favourable interpretation on the king's part."

phesies of sundry men whereby so many great persecutions of the world were prefigured. And first to begin with *Joachim* the abbot there is also the prophesy of *Hildegard* (of whom we have spoken before) *Fluentius* *Gerardus* *Jerome Savonarola* *John of Rocketaylada* not that we have certainty thereof *Manfridus* a Dominic Friar *Arnoldus de Villanova* *Peter John Aquitane*." And afterwards, he says, "And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint through his great mercy to be the principal organ and minister under him to reform and re-edify the desolate ruins of religion first before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose to infer such *prophecies and forewarnings* as were sent before of God by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, who *foretold and prophesied* the reformation of the church to come." He then gives as much as half-a-dozen pages of the new edition, from which it is quite sufficient for our present purpose to extract what follows;—

"And first to begin with the prophecy of *John Huss* and *Jerome*, it is both notable, and also beforementioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetic vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth to have a like prophetic meaning and because we are here in hand with

the prophecies of John Huss it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise [Then follows a story described in the margin as 'another prophecy by *John Hilton* monk of Thuringia'] long it were to induce here all the prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of *Briget* (whereunto I do not much attribute), who prophesying the destruction of Rome, saith but to these speculations of *Briget* I give no great respect, as neither do I to the predictions of *Katharine de Senis*. And yet notwithstanding Antoninus, writing of the same Katharine in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or adjudge but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of their own saint and prophet [then come according to the margin] 'Prophecy of *Hierome Savonarola*' 'Prophecy of *Theodoric*' 'Prophecy of *Weselus*' 'Prophecy of the Popes head;' [that is of a vision that one *Nicholas* a hermit of Helvetia had respecting it] then follows a prophecy of 'a certain priest' testified by *Nicholas Medler*, a story of another told by '*Conrad Stifelius*,' another of 'one *Haggar* of London;' and after these, three portents; first that about A.D. 1500 the angel which stood on the castle of St. Angelo 'was thrown down with a terrible thunder into the river Tiber: whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the popedom;' secondly that at the creation of one and thirty cardinals, the church in which that ceremony took place was struck by lightning which 'removed the little child Jesus out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand: which thing many did then interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the See of Rome;' thirdly a 'strange portent and a prodigious token from heaven' A.D. 1505, when there appeared on the vestures of men and women 'divers prints and tokens of the nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's coat, and of bloody crosses,' &c. *By these and such like*

prophecies, it is evident to understand the time not to be far off, when God of his determinate providence was disposed to reform and to restore his church.—*Fol. IV. 253.*

In this view of things, and this practice of making what could be made out of the prophecies which were abroad, Fox was not singular. It is a very observable thing that his friend Bale appended to his life of Lord Cobham some prophecies of the Abbot Joachim, and that in another of his works he set forth a prophecy of Merlin in the following manner;—

“ An olde prophecy of Merlyne
dysclosed

As I was in writing this matter an old prophecy of Merlin came vnto my remembrance That after the manifold irruptions of Strangers the Kings of this realm should be once again crowned with the diadem of Brute, and bear his ancient name, the new name of Strangers so vanishing away. He that applieth unto this a right understanding shall find it very true; The diadem of Brute is the princely power of this whole region, immediately given of God without any other mean mastry worker to Antichrists behove. Free was that power from the great whores dominion (which is the Rome church) till the violent conquest of the english Saxons, which they had of the Britons for their iniquities sake. And now (praise be unto that Lord) it is in good way to that freedom again, and would fully attain thereunto, were here heathenish yokes cast aside, as I doubt not but they will be within short space. As well may ye give credence to this Merlin when he uttereth the verity, as unto old Balaam the Soothsayer which at a time prophesied the coming of Christ *Num. xxiv.* And as concerning the return of the name, mark in this age the writings of learned men, and ye shall well perceive the change, for now commonly do they write us for Englishmen Brytaynes.”—*Acts of English votaries.* Part i. fol. 51.

I do not know that Bale laid any claim to inspiration; but John Knox did it in the plainest and clearest manner in the preface to the sermon which he preached in the "church of Edenbrough" on the 19th Aug. 1565, "for which the said John Knoxe was inhibite preaching for a season." Explaining why he had written so little he says;—

"For considering myselfe rather cald of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorowfull, confirme the weake, and rebuke the proud by tong and liuelye voyce in these most corrupt dayes, thā to compose bokes for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (and that by men of most singuler cōdition) and yet so little well obserued: I decreed to containe myselfe within the bondes of that vocation, wherēvnto I founde myselfe especially called. I dare not denie (lest that in so doing I should be iniurious to the giuer) but that God hath reuealed vnto me secretes vnknownen to the worlde, and also that he hath made my tong a trumpet to forwarne realmes and nations, yea certain great personages, of mutations and chaunges, when no such thinges were feared, nor yet was appearing, a portion wherof cannot the world denie (be it neuer so blind) to be fulfilled, and the rest (alas) I feare shall followe with greater expedition and in more full perfection, than my sorowfull heart desireth. These reuelations and assurances notwithstanding, I did euer absteyne to commit anye thing to writ, contented onely to haue obeyed the charge of him, who commaunded me to cry."—*Preface to the Reader*, p. 2. xxvii. 8. 21. 8vo.

We must also remember, that although the Puritans felt it right to rest their claim to be considered as the elect and true church of God, on the purity of their doctrine, yet they did not doubt that God still spake by the mouth of his prophets, and showed signs and wonders in his church. They believed that,

as that church, they had a right to expect, and thought that they saw, those signs following their faith. While they professed not to build on them, they delighted to observe and to point them out to others as clear and satisfactory attestations. This might be done even with a sort of modest disclaimer, as when Fox tells us that it was credibly testified by certain grave merchants that the presence of Tyndale at an entertainment prevented a juggler from performing his feats, "so that," he adds, "a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, *if miracles were now to be desired* '."

I have pretty fully expressed my opinion that Samuel Fox did not write the Memoir of his father; but there is no doubt that he wrote his epitaph. If he did not mean something like what I have been endeavouring in this section to explain, will any body tell me what he did mean by the words "THAUMATURGO ADMIRABILI^s?" These two words speak volumes; and I trust that they will be further explained in the next Section.

⁷ Vol. V. p. 129.

^s Townsend's Life, p. 226.

SECTION II.

EXORCISM.

ANOTHER very curious chapter in the history of Puritanism is that which relates to Exorcism. It deserves a much fuller investigation than could be given to it in this place, even if I had sufficient information to do justice to the subject. But what I now wish to say, I cannot better introduce than by three extracts from Strype, which not only give us his view of the subject in general, but relate particularly to a case of which I shall have occasion to speak presently.

“The formidable strength of the disaffected party to episcopacy by this time was much abated, and the writers on that side became much more silent than before: notwithstanding some footsteps we find of them about this time. For when the open practices for settling the new discipline would not prevail, there was a more secret method made use of by some of their Ministers, of doing something that looked little less than miraculous, namely, the casting out devils from persons pretendedly possessed by them. That so the amazed multitude, having a great veneration for these exorcizers of devils by the power of their prayers

and fastings, might the more readily and awfully submit to their opinions and ways. Which likewise was a practice borrowed from the Papists, to make their Priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions. One of these was Darrel, B.A. a Minister of Nottingham : who at last, after many years' exercise of his frauds in and about that county, viz. in Lancashire and Derbyshire, was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others of the ecclesiastical commission, (as we shall hear by and by,) being about the age of three and twenty or four and twenty, and then no Minister, he took upon him to cast out first one devil, and afterwards, upon repossession, eight devils more, out of a maid in Derbyshire, about seventeen years old, whose name was Katharine Wright. Of which himself writ the history, and gave a copy of it to the Lady Bowes. This was about the year 1586 : from which year till the 28th of March, 1596, Mr. Darrel, one now generally known, was out of work ; but in respect of what he had done grew very pert and proud, and in no small credit with the simpler sort. And now in this year he pretended to cast out a devil out of a boy in Burton, called Tho. Darling, then about the age of fourteen years. Of which also a book was written by one Rice, a saddler in the same town ; and contracted by one Mr. Denison, a Minister : which was seen and allowed by Darrel, and Mr. Hildersham, another Minister."—*Life of Whitgift, Vol. II.* p. 340.

The account of these possessions and exorcisms runs through more than six pages ; and it is not worth while either to extract or abridge it, for the part of it most to our purpose is what relates to the particular case of this Thomas Darling. I will therefore rather extract what Strype says of that person in his *Annals* :—

“ I have a few remarks to make here of two enthusiasts, or

rather cheats and deceivers : the one named Joh. Dayrel, or Darrel, bachelor of arts, soon after a minister, of the preciser sort, about three or four and twenty years of age ; who pretended to have cast out a devil out of one Katharine Wright, a young wench about seventeen, living in Darbyshire. And after, upon a return of the evil spirit into her, he cast out eight devils more, with which she was pretended to be possessed. A history whereof Darrel writ at large, and communicated some copies thereof to several persons ; and among the rest to the lady Bowes : hoping to get applause, and compass other ends thereby. We hear little more of him and of his feats, till nine or ten years after, about the year 1596. And out of a great many more pretendedly possessed persons Darrel cast out their devils : as out of a boy in Burton, called Tho. Darling, about fourteen years old. Whereof another book was penned by a saddler in that town, confederate, as it seems, with him : which book was revised and contracted by one Denison, a minister ; and then published in print ; and called, The book of the dispossession of the boy of Burton. This spread Darrel's fame throughout the country. So that afterwards he was sent for in Lancashire unto Mr. Starkie there ; in whose house where seven persons possessed with as many devils ; all which he cast out. Whereof one was called Anne Ashton : who after fell into the hands of certain seminary priests, (thinking how by her tricks she might be of service to them) and was carried by them up and down the country to sundry recusants' houses ; and by her cunning counterfeiting of certain fits, and staying herself for the secret directions of the said priests, she had her gains, and the priests gained great credit to them and their doctrine among the ignorant people."

" There was also one Sommers of Nottingham, a youth likewise, with whom this wonder-working man had much ado, by reason of his violent fits, to master the unclean spirit that acted him : but dispossessioned he was at last. Many friends this impostor had, pretending to do all by prayer and fasting. In short he was at last summoned up to Lambeth, with one Moor another minister that held with him, before the archbishop and commis-

sioners ecclesiastical; and found a gross impostor; and committed both to close prison. A particular relation of all this was set forth afterwards in a book by Dr. S. Harsnet, who was chaplain to bishop Bancroft; exposing the man and his cheats and impostures."—*Annals, Vol. III. part i. p. 635.*

To these extracts from Strype it is important to add a third, which relates to the first;—

"The great matter drove at in all this great pretended power of dispossessing devils from the bodies of men, and commanding those unclean spirits, was to serve the interest of the *new discipline*: as appears by what those concerned herein wrote in their books published to the world. Thus More, one that was as cunning as Darrel in dealing with Satan, saith 'That the faith of the church, established under pastors and teachers &c. shall bring forth this fruit, namely, to cast out Devils.' And so Darrel in his book, called *An Apology*, intimated, writing, 'That the work of God prospered, to the great good of that town [Nottingham;] for thereby the word of God grew mightily and prevailed.' And shewing himself zealous for the platform, condemned himself for taking Orders before he had a call to a flock;" &c. *Life of Whitgift*, p. 346.

I have copied the statements of Strype principally for the general view of the matter which they give; as to the particular case of Darrel, I hope to revert to it; but I will first request the reader's attention to two other cases, by which it, and the subject in general, may be considerably illustrated.

The first is a case of possession which I find described in a tract, of which the following is the title:

"¶ The Copy of a letter describing the wonderful woorkes of

God in delyvering a mayden within the city of Chester from an horrible kind of torment and sickness, 16 of February 1564."

The preface is as follows:—

"¶ To his very friend Maister J. D. After my harty saluta-
cyons letting al other matters passe, these chiefly are to signifye
unto you : That here of late hath hapned a wonderful cure of a
mayd within this citye, wrought by God's power in his faithful
minister and preacher of Jesus Christ, Mayster Lane to the
avancement of God's Glory, and to the great marveiling of all
those inhabiting in these partes. And least the same should be
misreported, or the wicked suffered to wrest things to abuse Gods
preachers, and for that the thyng is so rare and notable that it
shoulde not be kept from the posteritye, I have therefore sent
you the whole true discourse thereof described with the hand of
Sir William Calverley Knight Richard Harleston Esqr, and mine
own. I could have had every man here to have done the lyke
but considering we have had good profe the one with the other, I
thought this shall suffice, praying you to put the same in print.
From the city of Chester the xv. of March 1564.

Your friend

I. F."

It appears that the writer was John Fisher, and it seems not unlikely that the J. D. to whom the letter was addressed was John Day. The story is simply that the young woman was apparently (I say this because I do not find in the tract any thing to decide whether her disorder was real or pretended) tormented by very strong convulsions, during which she used to raise herself in her bed with great violence. After some more common methods had been tried, "it chaunced that Mayster John Lane, late fellow of Christs College in the University of Cambridge, and

now a famous and godly preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, within the diocese of Chester," was in those parts, and being applied to, undertook the work of exorcism. In addition to such measures as might have been expected, he seems to have adopted, and principally relied on, that of keeping her down by main force, which was not accomplished without great difficulty. It was done however, and, we are told :—

" At the last Maister Lane called for viniger, whereat the standers by marueiled, saying that the thing, with much more, had been oftentimes attempted, but to no purpose. Notwithstanding he ceased not to call still for it, saying, that God might do that then which he did not before, and so received viniger, put it into his mouth, and blew it into the maydens nostrrels, whereat she cried 'a Lady, Lady.' He then willed her to cal upon God, and the bloud of Christ, and in these doings she being astonied, he called again for more viniger. Whereat she cried 'No, No, no more for Gods sake.' Then Maister Lane willed her to speake and say after him ; and so he and all then present said the Lord's Prayer, and Te Deum, she saying after them. After this her deliverance" &c.

And so it seems she was cured ; though, I confess, I do not very clearly see how ; but I quote the case principally because the subsequent proceedings in it strikingly illustrate the view which Strype has taken of the subject generally. We are told ;

" My Lady Calverley with divers other credible persons wer present during such time as Mayster Lane was with the mayden and eye witnesses to these his doings. The next day following Mayster Lane preached at Saynt Maries within the

sayde Citye before John Throgmarton Esquier, the Quenes Maiesties High Justice in the Countye of Chester at which sermon the late recovered maiden was present.

Upon this so wonderful a cure great talk was had in eche company within the city, that thereupon the mayden was not onelye brought vnto the said Justice, and Maister Lane afterwarde upon earnest request of som of his friends halfe constrayned, dyd write his whole doinges therein : but also Maister Rogers Archdeacon of Chester, in his Sermon made in the Cathedrall Church of Chester the iiii of this instant March before the Maior of the Citye, the Bishops of Chester and of Saynt Assaphats, with a great multitude of the citizens besides having occasion offered by the wordes of the then present gospel touched this fact : Alledging that whatsoever was the original cause of so great and strange a disease, yet was the cure wonderful, and wrought by God, either to the great commodity, or else for the great plague, of the city of Chester and the country adjoyning."

The next case is more directly to our purpose, and I cannot introduce it better than by an extract from Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

"In the month of August following, the Archbishop discovered a great cheat in a maid that pretended herself to be possessed with a spirit : and that so artificially, that divers devout Ministers were deluded by her ; and wrote books giving accounts of her : whereby the people became the more imposed upon by this counterfeit. This was a business therefore which the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners thought fit to have brought before them. But so well did our Prelate sift and try the wench by himself, for want of other Commissioners, that he found out the cheat. And after he had by divers examinations tried out the falsehood, he required Sir Rowland Hayward, and Mr. Recorder of the City, to be assistant with him, who heard the wench examined and confessed, and saw her play her pranks before them. They had present her father and mother ; by which mother this

weneh was counselled and supported : and yet she would not confess any thing. Whose stubbornness they considering, sent her to close prison at Westminster gate ; where she remained, until her daughter, and another maid of Lothbury, had openly done their penance at Paul's Cross, as was ordered. The lying relations of this illusion had been very earnestly believed, and printed, and set forth ; and by print recorded and spread without licence. The two printers thereof, with others that sold those pamphlets, were committed to prison ; and the Archbishop was disposed to commit some of the principal witnesses to prison too, to stop them hereafter from abusing the Queen's Majesty's people so boldly, falsely, and impudently. And he intended moreover to set out a confutation of the same imposture. All this he thought fit the Court should know ; and therefore sent this account thereof to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, desiring, as he said, that in those things wherein he was a doer, his Lordship might understand a truth by his own report, rather than by the uncertain speech of the Court. The tragedy was so large, he told him, that he might spend much time to trouble him withal ; but chose to send him a copy of the vain book printed, and a copy also of the confessions of these cheats at length. That which made the Archbishop so diligent in the discovery of this delusion was, because in those times there were not a few that falsely pretended possession : for so he told the Treasurer, that he was so grieved with such dissemblers, that he could not be quiet with himself.

Both these maids, the one about twenty years old, named Agnes Bridges, and the other but eleven or twelve, named Rachel Pindar, did their penances at Paul's Cross : where first their several examinations and confessions were openly read by the preacher ; and after, they did themselves acknowledge their counterfeiting, and required forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to pray for them. The whole matter was afterwards thought fit to be published in print."—*Strype's Life of Parker*, Vol. II. p. 372.

Some extracts from this publication may be inter-

esting, and their bearing on our subject will be obvious. The first, from the preface, contains some hard hits at "certaine persons," which I do not pretend to explain.

"Of which causes there is matter ynough concerning divers persons, who have been workers in this dissimulation, however it is otherways bolstred out by some certeine persons, which for the mainenance of their owne estimation, woulde delude God's good people, and the Quenes Maiesties subjectes, with manifest untruth. Therefore to spare the names of some persons that are faultie in this matter, shall be done more of charitie towards the persons (if they wyl secretly repent) then to seeke any revenge of such by publishyng their deservings. Notwithstanding if any evil disposed persons, will yet after this declaration seem to be contentious, and speak more then becometh them they shall be answered more fully. And for that suche pamphlettes of Rachel Pynder be already spread abroad, not able to be called in again, This therefore is published to countervaille the same in the hearts of Gods people, wherein shall be truly set out some part of the speeches of this maid Rachel Pindar and also her confession of that hypocrisie whereof she seemeth to be very sorry and repentant: with confession also of Agnes Brigges: which both of them on Sunday the xv day of August 1574 did acknowledge their counterfeittings at Paules Crosse, with repentant behaviour, and their examinations and confessions openly there read by the preacher."

After the preface follows what appears to be a copy of an attestation, signed by the family of the maid and others who were present during her pretended possession, and were either the dupes or the partners of her fraud.

“ The very copie in wordes and orthographie subscribed by their handes.

The xvi of July 1574.

“ William Long spake thes woordes folowyng. I command the Sathane in the blode of Ihesus Christe, speake and tell me wherfor camest thou heayther? And sathane spake, but we cowlld not understand what he sayde, but he made a mowmlyng. But after he sayde, O Jone, Jone, leatt Jone alone. Then William Turner spake, and sayde, I command the sathane in the blowd of Iesus Christ, speak out, that al this peopell may heare the. Then he said he colld not speake. Then William Turner, and William long, said he leayd, and commanded him in the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey powre for to specke lowdoure. Then we al upō our knees lyfted vp our hartes vnto almightey God, and mad ovr prayers altogether, as our saviour Ihesus Christe haith taught vs in the sixt of Mathewes Gospel. Then we commanded him in the blowde of Iesus Christ to tell vs whom seant hym heyther. He sayd oldd Jone. Wherefore did she send the heayther? For her body and soulle. We sayde, thow shalt not have it, Iesus Christ hath brought it with his preasseyos blowd. Then he sayd, thow leayest, dyuers tymes. Then William Turner said Iesus Christ saythe in his holy gospel, that saythan was a leayer from the beginning, and therefore I beleaue Iesus Christ, I wyll not belieaue the, thow art a leayer. then Saythan sayd, she haith sinned against the holy gost, and herr sinnes weare before hur fayse, and he wolde haue hur. Then we said he showlld not haue hur, Iesus Christe haith bowght hur with his preasseyows blowd, and through faythe in the same, hath forgeyuen hur hur sinnes, and thow shalt not haue hur. Then saythane sayd he wolld haue us all. Then we sayd thou shalt haue none of vs. Then Saythan sayde Al the worlde is myne. Heare me, heare me: Dyd not I take Christe from the crosse? Thē we said thow art a leayer from the begynnyng, how darest thou be so bowllde to leaye in the presence of the Lord Iesus? Then we commanded him in the blowd of Iesus Christ, and in the meyghtey

power of his kyngdome, to tel vs what is they name. Saythan sayde, I cowlde not tell. We sayd, thou leayest, thou shalt tell vs, and he sayde vnto vs diuers times, thou leyaest. Then we commanded hym In the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey powre, tell vs what they name is, and defrawd the teyme no longer. Then he said lelygion, lelygion, diuers tymes. Then we asked hym how maney ther was in numbar. saythan sayd 5000 lelygons. Then we commanded hym In the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey powre, come out of the Saruant of Ihesus Christ, and bey and bye withowt hurtyng of anything. Then saythan sayde he wold tare vs all in pesses. Then we defeyed hym, and sayd, the lord god shal defend us. Then Saythan said how can you cast out 5 thowsand legyons of deallues. Then we commanded sathane In the blowd of Christ, and by his meyghtey powre to come out, and do no hurt. Then he sayd, geue me somewhat. Then we sayd, thou shalt haue nothing Sathan. Then sathan sayd, I wyll not go. Then we sayd, thou shalt goo to the etternall pytt of heall, which is prepared for the before the creaseyone of the world. Then sathan sayd he wold tare hur in pesses, and did torment hur presently. And Sathan sayde he wolld bryng 3. deathes, one for hur, and one for Uempfre⁹ *whom Foxe had beged at gods hand*, and one for the mayde In lothberre, and *I will tare Foxe In peasses*. Then sathen creyed O deathe, deathe verre terrabelleye. Then we all to geather mayed our prayers for hur and theam, that the Lorde God wolld release hur. And when we had endid owr praiers to God for hur, we commanded Sathan by the meyghtey powre and blowd of Jesus, to departe out of hur bey and bye without aney more wordes. Then Saythan sayd, you haue not written ytt. Then John Boush sayd, saruant vnto William Long, yf we haue not writtine ytt, the Lord God hath writtine ytt in owr hartes. Then we commanded sathan with al owr myght and poore, that God had geuen vs, that thow shalte depart out of the

⁹ I suppose Fox's friend, Laurence Humphrey, then Dean of Gloucester.

saruant of Ihesus Christ. Then Sathan sayd, gyve me a cherre and I will go. And we sayd, thou shalt have nothinge. Then we commandid sathan In the name of Ihesus Christe to depart without hurtinge of aney thyng, and sathan sayde, gyue me an appell. We sayd, thou shalt haue nothinge. Then we commanded sathan for to depart. Then sathan sayd, gyue me a thred band. We sayd thou shalt have nothinge. Then we commandid sathane to depart. He said gyue me a lyttle hare. We sayd, thou shalt have nothinge. Then sathan sayd, shall I have nothinge? I had of old Jone a drop of blowd to com heayther, and shall I depart awaye with nothinge. Then sathane sayd, wage your fynger, and I will depart. Then we sayd to sathan, we wil not, thou shalt not haue so muche. Then sathan sayd, gyue me the paring of your nalle. Then we sayd, thou shalt not haue so much to laye to owr charge att the day of Judgment. Then sathan Sayd, say but I praye yowe, and I will go. Then we sayd, we will not pray the, but we will commande the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey pore to depart bey and beye with owt hurtinge of aney thinge. Then Sayd sathan, I wil tarre fowre skore yeare and teane, yf you will gyue me nothinge. Then we mad aprayer to the almeightey god with earnest hartes, crauinge ayd and comfort att his almeightey handes for hur comfort and deliuerie. Then we commandid sathane in the blowd of Jesus to depart. Thē sathan creyed with a lowd voyse, and perfet speach that al meight heare, Heare me, heare me diverse tymes afore we wolld gyue eare to him. Then saythan said to vs in al owr hearring, leat me tarre tyll to morrow that my lady comes, and I wil tel you more of my mynd. Then we sayd unto hym, thou shalt not tarre for nothinge, and so commandid sathane steyll by the meytey pore and kyngdome of Ihesus Christe, to depart out of hur, and so he departed.

By me willam longe
 By me Willam turner
 By me John bowshe

By me william longe
By me william Turner
By miich Ian bous aom bour
man

By me william pyndar
father of the chylde

Be me william pendar

By me peter pyndar

By me peter pindar

By me rose harris

• 5 marke

By me kattarne osborne

By me elsabeth long, the

• 5 marke

wiffe of william long

By me Jane turner the

wife of william turner

By me marget barkers

By me kattarne chawke

By me elsabethe pyndar

mother of the chylde

By me Annes pyndar, the

wyfe of peter pyndar

By me sarah dauars

*By me Sarah Dauers*¹

By me susan pendar

By me marreyane reave

“ William Longe asked Sathane who commandyd the heyther, In the name of Jesus Christ, I command the tel vs. Sathan answered, Old Jone, Old Jone. Which Jone, said maister Debate: He answerred Jone Thornton, dwellyng upon the Keay. After what sort did she command it to goe? Sathane answerred, she sayde the Patter noster .3. tymes, and then I dyd come. Then sayd William Edwardes, thou leyst: sathan answerred, na. maister long said then 4. teymes, and sathane sayd .5. teymes, William Longe sayd .6. teymes, and sathane said .7. tymes, and maister Long said .8. teymes, sathane sayd .9. teymes, and maister Longe sayd .10. teymes, sathane said .11. teymes, and then maister Long sayd, than sathan thou leyst. And Sathan beinge

¹ These names are printed as nearly as may be as they are in the tract, except only that there those in the left column are (like the body of the work) printed in black letter, while those which are here printed in *italics*, are there distinguished by Roman type. I presume that the left column is a list of the persons present; and that those who chose to do so wrote their names opposite. I doubt whether the word which I print “bour” after the name of “Ian bous,” is right.

asked what was his name, he answered, Arke, Arke. And being asked of whō she learned ytt, of Dennom: and wher dyd Den-
nom lerne yt the? In the uppermost rowme of Thornstons
hows. How long ago? three yeares. What dyd she geue the
sathane? One drope of her blowd. Wher haddest thou it
sathan? On the fore fynger on the In seyde of hur left hand.
Wher dyd she kepe that, that she worked beye? In hur
bossome next to hur skin. What is it sathane? someteyme like
a doge, and someteyme like a tode. And then William Long
charged him In the blowd of Jesus Christ to depart Into the bot-
tomles pette of hell. Sathane answerred what wilt thou gyue
me? He sayd, nothing: and I charge the depart, and neuer
enter aney more. And sathane answerred, he woulde. Then
sayd the sayd Longe, In token thou wilt come no more heare,
blowe owte the candall, but he blewe not owt the candall, but
said, gyue me a thred: and immediatly the childe rose up, and
helld vp hur hands, and said, he is gone, he will come no more.
The manner of the voyse owt of the childe, the lyppes moued
with non suche mouing as coulde pronounce the words vttered,
the eyledes moued, but not oppen, she had greate swellinge in
hur throte, and abowte the gawes, and the voyse was somewhat
byggger then the childs voyse, being commandyd In y^e name of
Jesus Christ to spek lowddor, the voyse thē spak lowddor, that al
might hear.

*I George Allen hearde al
that is on this syde written*

Thes done in the presence of

By me gorge allyne
By me will. longe
By me will turner
By me william Pendar

By me william edwards
By me william longe
By me william Turner
By me Sarah Dauars.

Immediately after these documents, follows,

“ The Examination and
confession of &c.

Agnes Brigges daughter to William Brigges of London, Cloth-
worker, examined saith, that she hath ben afflicted ever sith Lent

last past. And the first tyme that shee fel into any traunce, was about mydsomer laste. And she sayth that vpon Munday next shal be sixe weekes, shee was at maister Foxe his house the preacher, where at that tyme came in one maistres Pinder, dwelling at Galley Key, and a mayde chylde of her owne with her, about xi yeere olde. And there the said maistres Pinder demaunded of this examinant, how she was troubled. And she aunswered, that shee was much troubled in mind. And shee, this examinant, sayth that the sayd Pinders wyfe then declared unto the sayd maister Foxe, and others there present, that her daughter had benne possessed of a deuyll, and sayde, that when shee had any traunce she woulde swell, and heave with her body marueylously, and that she dyd auoyde at her mouth, in her traunces, heare, a blacke silke threede, and a feather, whiche this examinant hearing determined to practise the lyke," &c.

She then proceeds to state the particulars, and to express her sorrow for her sin. Underneath the confession is this notice:—

“¶ Examined by me Robert Hogeson, by the commaundemente of Sir John Ryuers Knyght, Lorde Mayor of London, in the presence of me James Style, Minister and person of Saint Margarettes in Lothbery, of John Taylour, and John Kent Mercer.”

Then follows the examination and confession of Rachel Pinder, which contains no reference to Fox, and is not worth copying. It is thus attested:—

“ All this she confessed and avouched before the most Reverend Father Mathewe L. Archbyshop of Canturburie, Sir Rowlande Haywarde Knight, Alderman of the Citie of London and William Fletewode Esquire, Recorder of the same citie, and

others, the xi day of August, in the yeare of our Lord M.D.LXXIIII. And of the Reigne of our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth, the xvi."

Let us now revert to the case of Darrel; and as he cuts a poor figure in the extracts from Strype with which I began this section, it is perhaps only an act of justice to state that he replied to his accuser in a worke entitled "A detection of that sinful, shamful, lying and ridiculous discours of Samuel Harsnet," &c.; but it is not to our purpose to enter into the dispute, and I really do not know enough of its merits to give any opinion whether Darrel was an impostor or an enthusiast. That the boy was a deceiver seems scarcely to admit of any doubt. I have not seen any book, the title of which exactly answers Strype's description, "The book of the dispossession of the boy of Burton," though among the curious volumes under my care there are several works relating to this Darrel, and his performances; and two copies of one, which I should think to have been the original account of the matter, and the book meant by Strype, are now before me. They are intituled, "The most wonderfull and true story of a certaine witch named Else Gooderige of Stapenhill, who was arraigned and convicted at Darbie at the assizes there. As also a true report of the strange torments of Thomas Darling a boy of thirteene years of age, that was possessed by the Deuill, with his horrible fittes and terrible Apparitions by him uttered at Burton upon Trent in the county of

Stafford and of his marvellous deliverance. Printed at London for I. O. 1597." The preface is signed I. D., and it states that the work had been "compiled by a private christian and man of trade;" which agrees with Strype's account, and renders it still more probable that it is the book to which he referred, though he may have seen it quoted by the shorter description which he gives.

Be this as it may, it is certain that the book gives an account of the fits of Thomas Darling and of the language which he used when he was in them, and saw, or pretended to see, the "terrible apparitions" mentioned in the title page. A considerable part of the book consists of a species of dialogue; for we are told that in his fits "he could neither conceale what he said, or what Sathan saide to him," p. 14, and the principal drift of the conversation, repeated as having taken place between them at these various times, is that the tempter appeared to him offering him a succession of earthly baits and bribes, in the hope of obtaining some act of worship. I had read but little of this matter when it occurred to me that I had certainly met with something very like it before, and had read an older case of exorcism, in which the possessed person used language remarkably similar. Indeed, so much so, that I could hardly doubt that Darling's case was studied from the other, or else that both cases had been framed on some common original. Of this, however, the reader shall judge. I will first give some extracts from Darling's

talk, and place beside them some corresponding extracts from the older case, premising only with regard to the latter, that in singular conformity with the case of Darling we are told that "some of his [the possessed person's] speeches are directed to God, some to Christ, some to the devil, without naming the one or the other, and some speeches are not his own, but repetitions of the voices that spake unto him." The account further instructs us that where marks which may be thus represented || || || || occur in the MS.², we are to understand that the speaker paused. "We appointed," says the author of the account, "amongst us a scribe to pen verbatim out of his mouth whatever he spake during the time of his visitation."—p. 8.

Darling.

"Presently he awaked, and read, and was interrupted by a trance, wherein a voyce said 'Teare the booke, teare the book:' and with that (although his eyes were closed) he snatched at the booke (which one had in his hand) and tare forth one leaf of it: which thing also from that time till two of the clocke he attempted in everie of his fits."—p. 36.

The older case.

"Wilt thou so, wilt thou so indeed, wilt thou tear me if I will not tear the sermon which is the godliest sermon that ever was made. Tear me if thou canst, I give thee liberty, but thou canst not except thou have leave || || I will never tear that Sermon."—p. 18.

"Wouldst thou have mee teare the booke? I will not

² Harl. 590. I am not aware that it has ever been printed.

teare it doe what thou canst :
wilt thou teare him in pieces
that continueth reading
Sathan thou canst not touch
him," &c.—p. 41.

"Wouldst thou have me
teare the book? Avoyde Sa-
than I will not tear it."—p. 42.

"What offerest thou me a
bag of money if I will worship
thee? Avoyde Sathan; I will
none of thy money, the Lord
in heaven hath money enough
in store for me."—p. 14.

"Wouldst thou give me a
bag full of gold and silver, if
I will never read nor pray unto
God anie more. Avoid Sathan
I neither regard thy gold nor
silver; the Lord and his word
is better to mee than all the
gold and silver in the world."—
p. 40.

"Away I pray thee away,
I will look upon never a bag,
for I will have never a penny
of it it would be too dear
bought."—p. 18.

"I tell thee I will not have
it, it would be too dearly
bought, it is too much for me,
what should I do with thy
ship. Where hadst thou so
much gold?"—p. 24.

"What faire woman is this,
that is so gorgeously appa-
railed? Dost thou say thou
wilt give her mee if I will

"Dost thou ask me whether
it be a fair one by my troth I
must confess she is a goodly
creature, but where haddest thou

worship thee? Avoyd Sathan
I neither care for her nor thee.”
p. 40.

her I pray thee. If she did
know what evil shape thou
haddest under that yellow
locks she would not go so
familiarly hand in hand with
you as she doth || || Gentle-
woman, go from him, for he will
deceive you || || will you go
from him if I will have you?
Nay go not from him upon
that condition; for I will not
have you, I am too poor for
your estate || || will you for-
sake so great a prince for me,
and for my love? Alas loving
worme || || What cannot you
marry because he is kin to you?
|| || Are you cousin german to
him? then I can assure you that
you are kin to the Devil || ||
Are you not? yes that you
are || || Is he not the Devil but
the God of fortune,” &c. p. 36.

I think one cannot doubt that Thomas Darling had, either through Mr. Darrel, or in some other way, become acquainted with the older case, or else with some common original. Which way it was matters not. All that I desire the reader to observe is, that they are evidently of one school, and I imagine that we may with perfect truth and propriety transfer the remarks which Strype makes on Darling's case, to this other. There is another point of similarity between this older case and one of Darrel's

which may be merely accidental, but which is worth noticing. Strype says that Darrel made copies of it, and sent one to Lady Bowes. To what Lady the account of the older case to which I have referred was sent, I know not, but it begins "Good Madam, to satisfy your Ladyship's request, I have sent you the copy," &c.

The account of the older case to which I refer, is a manuscript of 58 large quarto pages, and the title is, I believe, partly in the hand of Strype, to whom I presume it formerly belonged. The original endorsement seems to have been simply "Mr. Brigg's temptation;" and to this is added (I believe by Strype) "with whom Mr. Fox prayed and commanded the Devil to depart from him." I have said that I suppose this to be Strype's addition; but whoever made it has interlined it between that original endorsement and the words "Justice Hales," which appear to be in the same hand and ink as the original endorsement, which differs much in both particulars from Strype's addition. Why that name is placed there I do not know. The MS. opens with a brief account of Mr. Briggs, by which it appears that he was a lawyer and "a zealous favourer of the Gospel;" and that "this man a little before Christmas, in the year 1573, was oft at lectures made by Mr. Lassilers [i. e. Ladislaus or Lancelot] Villers intreating of sin against the Holy Ghost," p. 6. He seems to have been afterwards subject to fits of insensibility, in which he lost (or seemed to have

lost) the power of sight and hearing and sometimes also of speech. At other times when only deaf and blind, he uttered much matter of one sort or another of which I have already given a specimen.

It is, however, more particularly to our purpose to notice those parts which relate to Fox, who was the exorcist in this case; and therefore I will give them in the order in which they occur. The first mention of him which I have observed is in the following passage;—

“ ‘Lord I defy that thought with all my heart. I will never consent unto it. Raise them up O Lord that fall, comfort and help the weak-hearted, and comfort, and assist them that stand’ || || And then smiling he said, ‘Alas! Alas! good Foxe, poor innocent man, now by my troth, I dare swear upon the testament, that he will not so much as look over the street upon a harlot || || Indeed I must confess with thee I have been proud; so was Manasses, and yet he was forgiven; and so I trust shall I || || Is he not saved? marry thou liest he is saved || || Did I reject the Bible? thou liest in that for Mr. Bull can bear me witness that I did kiss it || || Jesus bless him and me. Scriptum est non occides, and wouldest thou have me kill him? Kill him that is the pillar of this land, and worthy to have that he hath? Jesus bless him and govern and direct all his way as may be to thy glory, to his comfort, and the profit of his country || || No faith I will not; and there is one hath made such a hedge about him that thou never by any means shalt be able to hurt him; no, not once to touch him.’ ” P. 10.

I do not undertake to say who is meant by “the pillar of this land;” but I quote the passage at length that the reader may judge for himself, taking it with the extracts which are to follow. The next is;—

“ ‘Faith is dead, but I would have faith, and a growing faith delighteth the Lord best.’ He wept and said ‘As good Fox said, ‘I have none but I would have faith, and remorse of my sins’ || || Mr. Fox come to see me no more? He will come, he will come to me again in despite of thy heart. Jesus pugna pro me.’ Then he did sing these psalms following,” &c. p. 15.

The next mention of Fox occurs in the following passage, which throws light on one already given ;—

“ Bewitched me ! Hang thee Sir Devil, I think he hath pierced the heavens for me with his prayers. Alas ! poor JOHN, alas ! he is not able to kill a mouse || || Indeed thou hast cause to hate him for he hateth thee again || || Yea but there is one that hath made a hedge about him ; thou canst not touch his little toe || || A hypocrite ! I Lord Jesu what next. O ! thou liest falsely || || He is good true servant || || Wilt thou have us both ? take us when thou canst get us, as Paul said to the Corinthians. Now God confound thee thou wicked fiend. Lord rebuke him || || Yea, yea, thou hast told me so oft, but thou never keepest promise || || Did I say he was a Devil ? thou liest falsely. Indeed, this I said, he was a devil of devils : And it was not I neither that spoke it, but Mr. Fox, and I did assent unto it, for as thou by his sufferance art a devil to torment others, so God is a devil to thee for that he is able and doth torment and punish thee and conquer thee, and thereunto I did assent, and we neither of us are afraid of it, for it was spoken in good pretence. Adieu to the devil quoth to nia lynne³. ” P. 19.

Again ;—

“ ‘Indeed Fox said so ; and it is true. Thou art very busy

³ So it stands in the original, of which I have not in general taken the trouble to preserve the spelling. I suppose it must be some line of an old song about “ Tony O’Linn.”

with him. I cannot blame thee for he setteth thee forth in thy colours. Now farewell and be hanged.' And then he sang 'O most gracious God, most sure to trust;' and 'O Lord of whom I do depend;' and so was restored to his former sense again." P. 26.

The narrative proceeds to state that the next day—

"Sunday, being the 18 April, this gentleman lost his sense; but he was not that day by his former enemy troubled at all. At which time he presently told the company that the Devil was then attending his charge at Pauls Cross among the cut purses, and other false apostles, and had no leisure to visit him." P. 26.

On the Tuesday following, being at a friend's in the Temple he was troubled by the devil's suggesting that evil thoughts sever a man from God—that he had evil thoughts—and therefore he was thus severed; and in proof of this referring him to the first chapter of Proverbs. He went home and looked at the passage, and then being "very desirous to be resolved thereof," he "went to Mr. Fox a divine very learned, and a godly man who expounded it unto him and being thoroughly satisfied in conscience by him herein he went with the [corner of the page torn off. I presume "said] Mr. Fox to visit one Stiphen-son a Londoner." P. 26.

On Thursday the 22nd of April, he was "by the devil tempted and apposed in the Lord's prayer," p. 28, but there was nothing about Mr. Fox. On the Saturday however, after he had been lying without sense nineteen hours,

" Mr. Fox of whom you have heard before, came unto him who finding in the chamber at that time seven of the temple wherein five were counsellors of good credit, the same Mr. Fox first with godly persuasions exhorted them all to God, saying that if any amongst them did bear hatred that he should frankly forgive it as he hoped to be forgiven of God or else depart the chamber. Who being answered that they frankly forgave all the whole world, he said unto them ' And do you also repent you of your former sins, and intend by Gods grace to amend your lives ?' Who being answered ' Yea,' he said ' Let us whyne ' together in prayer.' These gentlemen kneeling upon their knees, himself standing upon his feet, begun with a most vehement voice, harty spirit, in this sort ' O ! thou most wretched serpent, who by the sufferance of Almighty God hast taken from this creature the use of his tongue that he cannot with his lips glorify Him,' and then lifting up his hands, ' O Lord Most Highest we most humbly desire thee that thou command the devil by our mouths to depart. I say again, O thou foul devil, I command thee to depart in the name of Christ Jesus.' And as he was pronouncing ' Jesus ' the dumb man cried out, ' Christ Jesus, magnified and blessed be thy name,' at whose name the devil seizeth the molested creature, ' blessed and glorified be thy name by the prayer of thy penitent servants, and by thy pronouncing of thy most glorious name Jesus the devil departed.' Then he himself prayed to God and gave his most hearty thanks ; the other gentlemen having likewise rendered their most humble thanks. The same Mr. Fox, likewise ' As God hath heard the prayers of his poor penitent sinners, thereby hath he showed his [*illegible*] power in giving his creature and our brother the use of his tongue to the strengthening and increasing of our faith, so undoubtedly he will hear our humble prayers ;' and so he began ' O Thou most glorious God and mighty Prince, who at

⁴ This word is quite plain ; but a pen like Strype's has written over it "ioyne," which may perhaps be the word mistaken by the transcriber.

the meek request of these thy poor sinners hast given the use of his tongue to this thy servant by commanding that wicked serpent to depart from him, so we most meekly beseech thee to command his foul spirit to depart from ever molesting this our brother; that he receiving of his sight may see thy wonderful works and glorify thee; and therefore thou most devouring lion I command thee in the name of Christ Jesus that thou avoid. And Thou Lord, if it shall so please thee the rather at our humble request, grant unto this thy servant for Jesus Christs sake the use of his eyes.' At the pronouncing of which word 'eyes,' even at that instant, his eyes sprang wide open as dark and dim to behold as horn or wainscot, and by and by, at the sudden, sparks of light flashed in them and he saw the same moment. Which miraculous act the company did evidently see and behold to their great astonishment. Whereas before he had never received his sight but with most extreme pain, ache, and pricking, and the same enduring by the space of half an hour always at the least. Where-with the gentleman molested said 'Glory praise, and power be unto thee O Christ by whose power the dumb receive their speech, the deaf their hearing, and the blind their sight.' After which time he never was restored to the use of his senses lost but only by prayer." P. 31.

On a subsequent occasion ;—

[Those] " in the chamber joined in prayer that he might receive his sight, and so said a prayer which was left there for purpose by Mr. Fox, wherein after many requests made to the end aforesaid by the pronouncing of these words 'O Lord Jesus who hast promised that whensoever two or three shall be gathered together in thy name thou wilt grant their requests, fulfil now O Lord this our humble request that this thy servant and our brother may receive again the use of his eyes;' and therewith suddenly at that instant his eyes waxed clear so as he perfectly received his sight and glorified God the Father Almighty."—p. 36.

I do not know whether this Mr. Briggs was any

relation of the Ann Briggs, whose confession has just been given; but it seems impossible to doubt that, like her, he was a deceiver. I need hardly say that I have no idea of charging Fox with any kind of participation in the imposture, or any connexion with such frauds, except as the dupe of those who abused his credulity, employed his industry, and availed themselves of his character to work their own ends. This, too, is the real secret of his martyrology, the true apology for it, and, in fact, the only thing that can account for such a compilation being so made at all, and so received by his contemporaries—something like it is, perhaps, necessary to account for the treatment which it has more recently met with at the hands of some of its professed admirers.

END OF PART II.

6

3

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

CANON OF DURHAM, &c.

TO THE NEW EDITION OF

FOX'S MARTYROLOGY:

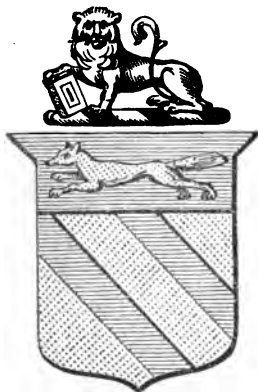
BY THE
Samuel Ror...
REV. S. R. MAITLAND, .

LIBRARIAN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PART III.

HISTORICAL AUTHORITY OF FOX,

SECTIONS I. & II.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,

AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1842.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

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HISTORICAL AUTHORITY,

&c.

SECTION I.

THE "SINGULAR PROOF OF FOX'S ACCURACY."

I CANNOT better introduce this subject than by an extract from Mr. Townsend's criticism on my Review of "Fox's History of the Waldenses;"—

"At length, in pages 42 and 54, we are brought to the question, the only real question of the value of Foxe as an authority; and Mr. Maitland thus sums up the reasons for considering the martyrologist as no authority.

1. Foxe frequently gives no authority at all.
2. He gives his authorities so vaguely and so uncertainly, that they are useless*.
3. He borrowed authorities.
4. He abridges unfairly; though Mr. Maitland confesses that

* I always suspect a writer, who, without any apparent reason, translates an opponent's words into his own, instead of copying them. I must beg the reader, on no account and no occasion, to believe, on Mr. Townsend's authority, that I have made any specific statement. Had he been careful to be honest, he might, with but little more time or trouble, have given my words, which are true and proved by abundance of examples, instead of making me say what is plainly false. I repeat my words, "He *frequently* gives his authority in so vague and uncertain a manner, that it is of no use."

he does not know how to define the unfair abridgment to which he alludes †.

I reply briefly and generally,—

1. *Foxe frequently gives no authority at all.*

Mr. Maitland, in one part of his works⁽¹⁾, asks whether the reader of Rapin and other historians, is of opinion that they wrote their histories from imagination? I ask the same question respecting Foxe. He might have spangled his pages with as numerous references as Sharon Turner has so beautifully, and so satisfactorily done. But I ask Mr. Maitland his own question,—Did Foxe invent history? or, if he did not, might he not have considered it unnecessary to give authorities for his more well-known facts? Or would Mr. Maitland have had him act as the gentleman, who refused to believe that the Duke of Wellington had won the battle of Waterloo, till he had the authority of a Dutch gazette? That the reader of Foxe, however, may believe the martyrologist, even when no authority is quoted, I will mention one coincidence, which may serve as a specimen of the careful manner in which Foxe collected the materials for his history.

In p. 482 of the edit. 1632, vol. i. ; p. 420 of the edit. 1684, vol. i. ; and p. 650, vol. ii. of the new edit., we read,—

‘Two legates came from Rome, sent by pope John XXII., under pretence to set agreement between England and Scotland; who for their charges and expenses required of every spiritual, fourpence in every mark.’

Foxe gives no authority for this alleged fact. Mr. Maitland would have us, therefore, suppose that it is false. It is true. In

(1) Six Letters, &c. &c. Preface, p. 8, end of the note.

· † Unless Mr. Townsend means to use the word “define” in some very strict way, such as no reader would dream of, his statement is not true. I used at the outset the words at which he catches; “I feel it very difficult to say what is, or is not unfair abridgment. I find that people differ very much on that point,” &c.; but I proceeded immediately both to *describe* and to give a *specimen* of what I considered unfair abridgment.

the treasury of Durham, as our librarian (*) informs me, a mandate from bishop Beaumont to the prior and convent of Durham still exists, in which the Bull of pope John XXII. is recited, commanding the prior and convent to collect for these cardinals fourpence per mark from all beneficed persons in the diocese. Again I ask, what possible benefit can Mr. Maitland propose to render to the Church by such criticisms as these?"—*Life of Fox*, p. 303.

(*) The Rev. James Raine, well known by his valuable antiquarian labours, his works on St. Cuthbert, History of North Durham, etc.

I hope I need not assure the reader that I have never been so absurd as to suggest that whatever Fox delivers without authority we should suppose to be false; but as Mr. Townsend asks what possible benefit I can propose to render to the Church by such criticisms as those which he is pleased to misrepresent, I will mention one good effect which I have in view. I propose to put the public, and in particular the members of the Christian Church, on their guard against impostors, against men who know little and talk big: to check the practices of those who make a gain in money or in fame, by a pretence of learning which they do not possess, and who obscure and mystify truth, and put forth nonsense and falsehood, by boldly meddling with what they do not understand. In this I trust that something has been already effected; and I have no doubt that the helot-like example of the new edition of Fox has tended to increase and preserve the sobriety of editors, and produced greater accuracy and value in more than one book which has been recently published.

But to come to this "SINGULAR PROOF OF FOXE'S ACCURACY," as Mr. Townsend heads his page in SMALL CAPITALS, what does it, in his own view of the matter, amount to? As far as I see, simply to this,—Fox states a certain fact respecting two papal legates, without giving any authority for it, and yet "it is true." Really this is not much to brag about. It is somewhat beyond modesty, I think, to quote it as "a specimen of the careful manner in which Foxe collected the materials for his history." Perhaps, it should be expanded thus:—You see that Fox was careful to say "two" legates instead of three, and "four" pence instead of five; if not, his want of reference to authority would not have saved him; we can carry research as far as he did; trace his most recondite learning, and find to our astonishment that we have only to admire his amazing accuracy, which reports as precisely matters not known to exist anywhere but in an ancient contemporary manuscript in the treasury of Durham, as if he were merely copying it from a printed book. We are so delighted with it, that for the time we quite fall in love with SINGULAR ACCURACY.

All this is very fine; but the truth of the matter is, that Mr. Townsend has made one mistake which renders it very ridiculous. It was very perverse of the martyrologist, if he meant to lay a trap for his vindicator, but the fact is that for *this* he *does* give his authority. He was travelling steadily on, translating from a well-known printed book, to which he had re-

A manuscript of a history of the old times.

ferred within fifty lines of the passage quoted by Mr. Townsend. The reader of the new edition will see that Fox was avowedly following Thomas Walsingham, whom he cites by name on pages 645, 646, and even 649, the very page before that containing the passage quoted by Mr. Townsend; and, it will be observed, that there is no reference to any other authority between. These references *did not* appear in Fox's book while Thomas Walsingham's chronicle remained in manuscript—that is, up to the year 1574, at which time it was published by Archbishop Parker. When thus brought before his notice, and to his hand, Fox availed himself of Thomas Walsingham's history, very honestly referring his readers to it for the facts which he was stating, and among these was the history of the fourpences. What becomes of the SMALL CAPITALS?

But it is odd that with such a purpose Mr. Townsend should have happened to draw our attention to a passage which I had never observed, but which is so much to our present purpose. As it is peculiarly calculated to "serve as a specimen of the" CARELESS "manner in which Foxe collected the materials for his history," and may put people on their guard against the broad assertions of the Vindicator, I will repeat the sentence which Mr. Townsend has quoted, together with a few lines which follow it:—

" Soon upon this came two legates from Rome, sent by pope John XXII., under pretence to settle an agreement between England and Scotland; who, for their charges and expenses,

required of every spiritual person fourpence in every mark. But all their labour nothing availed; for the legates, as they were in the north parts (about Darlington) with their whole family and train, were robbed and despoiled of their horses, treasure, apparel, and what else they had, and with an evil favoured handling, *retired back again to Durham*, where they staid awhile, waiting for an answer from the Scots. But when neither the pope's legacy, nor his curse, would take any place with the Scots, they returned again to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as black as soot all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses received, they exacted of the clergy, to be given and paid unto them, eightpence in every mark. But the clergy thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their own covetousness (as they said) that made them venture further than they needed. Still they were contented to relieve them as far as fourpence in a mark, as they promised before; further *they would not grant*: whereof the king being advertised, and taking part with his clergy, directed his letters to the said legates in form as followeth:—

Letter of the King to the Legates.

The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia, greeting: we have taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the subjects of our realm, perceiving by the same that you practise many and sundry inconveniences very strange, never heretofore accustomed, nor heard of in this our Realm, as well against the clergy and ecclesiastical persons, as against the laity, even to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many of our liege people, &c."—Vol. II. p. 650.

I believe that almost the whole of this (except the mistake which Fox has made in saying that the Cardinals "*retired back again to Durham*," when in fact they had not been there, but were robbed on their way thither) will be found in the passage from

Thomas Walsingham, which I give in the note*; that is, all down to the words "they would not grant," which I have marked by *italics*. But what follows that has not the same authority. Here we really do come to matter for which Fox gives no authority. He has inserted it to render the account of the business more full. It is one of the cases I suppose in which (as we shall presently find Mr. Townsend triumphantly stating) Fox "printed from the Records in the Tower," which the Vindicator seems to think in itself a great achievement, whether he printed right or wrong. But wherever the king's letter came from, here it is; and it is as absurdly out of place as if it were interpolated among the letters of Cicero or Horace Walpole. What in the world has the king's letter to Master Rigand of Asserio to do with the business? It is no more *à propos* to that matter, than Mr. Puddingfield's "great demand for Packwood's razor strops," was to Magna Charta. Thomas Walsingham had told Fox that the several and respective names of these Cardinals were Joceline and Luke; did he imagine that they travelled under the joint designation of Master Rigand of Asserio, and that in the multiplication table of Rome two Cardinals made one Canon? And what was there in the matter of the letter to permit such a mistake? It is not pretended that the Cardinal legates asked a farthing of the laity; and there seems

* See Note A.

to be absolutely nothing but the date of the letter, showing that it was written somewhere about the time, which could have given rise to so strange a blunder. For anything else but the date Fox might just as well have put in Pliny's letter to Trajan.

I had not, as I have already stated, observed this strange absurdity until Mr. Townsend drew my attention to it. I dare say there are many such matters which would be discovered, if the book were subjected to a proper process of editing ; for it is not the only thing that has impressed on me an idea that Fox's taste for perusing ancient monuments often led him to get hold of what he did not understand, and therefore misconceived, and misrepresented. It is however a singularly good specimen of that carelessness which, in my view of things, greatly detracts from the authority of a writer ; and it also affords a very proper opportunity for a remark on the practical effect of this careless mode of writing history, which will form a very suitable introduction to matter which I am about to lay before the reader.

I cannot help feeling, and I wish to impress on the reader's consideration, that mis-statements of fact are often of less importance in themselves, than in their effects ; and particularly in their effects on the writers who make them. If all the evil lay in the insertion of an irrelevant document, we might hope that those who could not understand it, or even misunderstood it, might be not much the worse ; and that, at all events, the evil might be remedied by

putting out the irrelevant matter. But it is clearly otherwise. Can we doubt that Fox's own mind was influenced, and his way of relating the history of the Cardinals modified by his getting hold of, and misunderstanding and misapplying this letter addressed to Master Rigand, who was prowling about after Peter-pence, and seizing all that he could lay his hands on? When Fox read in it about unheard of exactions, amounting to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many of the King's liege subjects, and transferred all this to the legates, was it not natural that he should tell their story as he could hardly have done if he had not been under that delusion? He tells us they were "sent by Pope John XXII.," but suppresses the fact that it was *at the request of the King*, whom he represents as writing this letter against them. He represents the Pope as sending them "*under pretence to set agreement between England and Scotland*;" and puts the following marginal notes:—"Two legates sent from Rome. The Popes *pillage*. The Popes legates spoiled of all their *yl gotten treasure*. The Popes curse contemned of the Scottes. The Clergie of Englande denyeth to contribute to the Popes legates." And then, after an irrelevant letter from the King to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he tells us; "The like letters in effect were directed to the Archbyshop of Yorke, and to every other Byshop through England. By force of whiche letters the *greedy legates* beyng restrayned of their

ravening purpose *taking what they could get*, and setting a peace (such as it was) betwene the King and the Earle of Lancaster were fayne to pack."

When, therefore, Mr. Townsend asks, "Did Foxe invent history?" I answer, that I believe all this about pillage, and ill-gotten treasure, and greedy ravening, is pure invention, not countenanced by any authority whatever. The legates were sent hither at the King's request: no one, I think, who knows anything of the history of the time, can doubt that the Pope was sincerely desirous to "set agreement between England and Scotland;" and if any one should suspect that it was only a "pretence," I should be very glad to know what the real object was. That it was to pillage and raven I see no proof, and nothing which leads me to suppose that they had authority to collect anything but the fourpences assigned for their maintenance, and which it is distinctly stated that the clergy were willing to pay. Thomas Walsingham is obviously not disposed to flatter them, but he hints at nothing of the sort. It is quite obvious that the charge of avarice with which the clergy met the demand of the cardinals for the second fourpence, related to some advantage which they were supposed to expect from attending the consecration of Lodowick, Bishop of Durham; but that they were taking with them any "ill-gotten treasure," or that they ever received anything more than their fourpences from the clergy, and a pension of fifty marks from the King, I do not find. They

came, as I have said, at the request of the King, to assist in a work of great national importance; there is every reason to believe that they laboured sincerely though unsuccessfully to perform it; it was right that they should be fed while employed in it. If they were misled by avarice or ostentation, or both, to attend the consecration of Bishop Lodowick, they were severely punished for it; and for the credit of the country we may hope, that so far as regards pecuniary loss, they were indemnified; though Walsingham expressly states that they did not recover all the property of which they were robbed, but only their horses, clothes, and such like; by which, I presume, he means such baggage as was necessary to enable them to pursue their journey. At all events, to gibbet them as the pillagers is too bad. But so it is that history is defaced by ignorance and party spirit; and when it has done its miserable work, there is sure to be more ignorance, and more party spirit, ready to come out and vouch for it.

As to the authority of Fox's work, however, Mr. Townsend speaks again, and more at large:—

“ But the second question is—*Ought John Foxe to be regarded as an historical authority?* ”

Mr. Maitland speaks of the idea as absurd. Let us consider as our best answer to the question, neither his opinions, nor his motives, nor his objects, but the vast storehouse of materials he has collected, and the mass of undisputed facts which he has related, and which are not to be found in the volumes of any other book. We shall then, I think, come to the conclusion, that he still is, what our fathers esteemed him to be—one of the first,

most valuable, and unsuperseded authorities in the English language⁽¹⁾.

John Foxe then was the first publisher of the Saxon Sermons, which prove the peculiarities of Rome to have been unreceived by our Saxon ancestors. These sermons were deemed so valuable, that they have been separately printed, with the attestation of many competent witnesses to their accuracy. The early history of the language is illustrated by this part of the labours of Foxe.

John Foxe first made generally known to the public, the value of the historical manuscripts, which he consulted before they were printed. The first English edition of Foxe was printed in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. He makes constant use of Matt. Paris, which was first printed in 1571; of William of Malmesbury, William Huntingdon, R. Hoveden, Ethelward, and Ingulphus, which were first printed in 1596; and of Matt. of Westminster, which was printed in 1567. He quotes from manuscripts the epistle of Boniface or Winfrid⁽²⁾; the letter of Charlemagne⁽³⁾; the letters of Alcuin⁽⁴⁾; the laws of Athelstan⁽⁵⁾; the laws of Egelred⁽⁶⁾; the oration of Edgar⁽⁷⁾. All these were printed for the first time and were added to the public store of our literature."—*Fox*, Vol. I. p. 471.

(1) I omit the references to Foxe as an undoubted historical authority, which are to be found in Strype (*Memorials*, vol. iii. folio edition), with the testimony of that writer to his accuracy, p. 401; his diligence, p. 458; the citation of Foxe's MSS. pp. 60, 79, 102, 104, 138, 259, 273. App. pp. 66, 19, 28, 91, etc.; the specification of his materials, pp. 66, 145, 457; his impartiality, p. 258, etc. Strype's *Memorials* ought to be in the possession of every student.

(2) Vol. i. p. 143, edit. 1683. (3) Vol. i. p. 145, col. 1, edit. 1683. (4) Vol. i. p. 146, edit. 1684. (5) Vol. i. p. 166, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 44, new edit. (6) Vol. i. p. 181, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 78, new edit. (7) Vol. i. p. 189, edit. 1683.

For a continuation of this, I refer the reader to a

note*. It is too long to allow of its being conveniently inserted in this place, where, indeed, it is not particularly wanted. Though, as it contains matter to which I must from time to time refer, I wish the reader to have it at hand; and having professed my inability to define what is, or is not, unfair abridgment, I think it best to give it entire. A good deal might be said (and really, lest the reader should be deceived by the bold face put on the matter, a few words must be said) on the small portion here quoted; though at the same time every one must see, that supposing it, and all in the note, to be true to the letter, it no more proves the *authority* of Fox as an historian, than it proves him to have been ten feet high, or a Frenchman. Mr. Townsend's idea of an authority seems to be simply that of, "Somebody that says something;" and, therefore, if there is any body who says a great many things which nobody ever said before, he must be a very *great* authority.

Only observe what his ill-informed and inconsiderate advocacy has thrust into the front of the battle. "John Foxe then was the first publisher of the Saxon Sermons, which prove the peculiarities of Rome to have been unreceived by our Saxon ancestors." What does Strype, whom Mr. Townsend sets forth as "the *most competent witness* to form a judgment on the merits or demerits of the results

* See Note B.

CRUDE,
MAYOR
VERY CRUDE

of the labours of the martyrologist*," say of that business? Why, first, that it (for it was but one homily) was retrieved and brought to light, *not by Fox*, but by Archbishop Parker; and secondly, that it "is printed in Fox's second volume. But *he hath left out several passages* which contained some legendary miracles relating to the sacrament, *and some particular passages which look favourably towards the doctrine of the church of Rome*, which are not omitted in the Archbishop's edition of the book †." Certainly not. The Archbishop was quite a different sort of authority. Some persons may, perhaps, feel nothing but contempt for a man who could write as Strype tells us that Primate did in the preface to his Asser; "for in his preface to that book, he desired the reader to observe, that in all the books that he put forth, he never added anything of his own, nor diminished from the copy; but expressed, to a word, every thing as he found them in the originals ‡." It was, I suspect, to the labours of the Archbishop that the attestation which Mr. Townsend has got hold of was given. At least I have never heard of any being

* Life of Fox, p. 28. I quote Mr. Townsend's words in reply to himself; and I believe fairly, for no one doubts Strype's veracity or the truth of his statement. They render it necessary however that I should say so much on the authority of Strype as would be out of place here, and therefore I refer the reader to Note C.

† Life of Abp. Parker, vol. ii. p. 503.

‡ Strype, ubi sup. p. 501.

given to those of Fox, and have no doubt that the plain charge brought by Strype is as true, as it is injurious to historical authority.

And as to the other names that he mentions, how fully and how oddly does Mr. Townsend answer himself, and what almost incredible ignorance does he display of a work with which he ought to have been so well acquainted, by making his references to the edition of 1684, and thus clearly and undeniably founding his argument on the assumption that every thing in that edition of Fox was also in the edition published before 1567. It is almost incredible, but it is (as I have elsewhere had occasion to remark) too plain to be denied, and in fact Mr. Townsend has not dared to deny it. When he produces all these fine things from the edition of 1563, it will be time enough to inquire how Fox could have come by them before 1567. At present it would lead us from our purpose.

It could, indeed, hardly be worth while, under any circumstances, to reply inch by inch to an inflated detail beginning so unfortunately; but, as I have already said, it is wholly irrelevant and useless for the purpose for which it is made. Yet for another it is so important, that I have thought it right to extract it without curtailment. I have no wish to take advantage of Mr. Townsend's exaggeration, or to build an argument on the full breadth of his statements; but if any thing like what he says is correct—if anything like as much as he states rests on the

authority of Fox—it really is of some importance to inquire whether that authority is good or bad.

It seems to me that the three principal qualifications of an historian—the three characteristics which entitle him to be considered as an authority, are knowledge, care, and veracity. A man may know facts very well, and yet copy and record them so carelessly as to be unintelligible or mislead. He may be very careful about what he does know, and yet misconceive and mis-state it for want of knowing more; and, however knowing and careful he may be, yet if he is deficient in veracity, he is an historian of little or no authority, because, even though we may believe that he says much that is true, yet we have no security that any given statement is not false. On these points then I shall offer some evidence with reference to the present case.

SECTION II.

OF FOX'S KNOWLEDGE AND CARE IN REGARD TO THE TRANSLATION OF AUTHORITIES.

Knowledge of more than one kind is obviously necessary for the writer who would be considered as an historical authority. As he is not to “invent history” he must himself use authorities, and it is most necessary that he should understand the language in which they were written. If he is to use Latin books he should be able to translate Latin, and should do it carefully. If my reader is inclined to

dispute this he may as well lay down the pamphlet ; if not, let him understand that it is the only concession which I ask from him ; and that if he is ready, *ex animo*, to subscribe to it, I expect to bring forward matter that will astonish him ; and in case he should not be fond of making out the bits of Latin, not always very intelligible when thus taken out of their connexion, I will not only give him Fox's translation, but will place beside it what I believe to be the real meaning, adding the original ; so that he may pursue his studies with as much ease as if he were a young lord with a private tutor.

But first I must say a word about my calling it Fox's translation. I shall be told that he was too good a scholar to have made such blunders as I am going to produce. It may be so ; and those who have written bombast eulogies on Fox's learning are much concerned to show that it is so ; but it matters not to our present purpose, which is to inquire whether Fox, not personally but by his book, is a good historical authority. The translations, whether he made them or not, are his, if any thing can be made so by adoption. Some stress has been laid on what he says in his reply to Harpsfield in defence of Lord Cobham :—

“ Knowing that the first edition of these acts and monuments was begun in the far parts of Germany, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had ; and that the same edition was afterwards *translated out of Latin into English by others*, while I, in the mean time, was occupied about other

Registers; and now the said Cope, hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Acts and Monuments, for *the amending of divers things therein to be reformed*," &c.—Vol. III. p. 384.*

Presently after he adds—

"You understanding that I was about *the correction* of my book again."—*Ibid.*

As Harpsfield's book was published in 1566, I presume that this reply of Fox was in his edition of 1570, to which I have not at present access; but, if I may trust Strype, Fox in that edition made most peculiar professions of having personally revised and corrected his work. Not only does the title page set it forth as "*Newly recognised and enlarged by the author*," but in an epistle prefixed to it he says that—

"In accusing these his accusers, he did not so excuse himself, nor defend his book, as though nothing in it were to be spunged or amended, therefore *he had taken pains to reiterate his labours, in travelling out the story again*: doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before: or as builders do sometimes; take down again their buildings, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger:

* I cannot quote such passages of Fox without thinking how much Mr. Townsend's great drum is wanted to drown the confession of the unhappy martyrologist, who is to be made a hero in spite of himself. One can imagine the vindicator thumping his empty, noisy, monotonous instrument, and shouting at the top of his voice, "Don't mind him; don't believe a word that he says; 'ELEVEN YEARS WERE CAREFULLY AND ANXIOUSLY DEVOTED,'" &c., p. 28. Through it all one hears the natural lamentation, "few friends, no conference, small information."

so he in recognising this history had employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument he took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any painstaking he might pacify the stomachs or satisfy the judgments of these importune quarellers." —*Strype's Ann.* Vol. ii. p. i. p. 43.

After this comes the edition of 1576, which Mr. Townsend tells us professes on the title page, as before, to be "*newly recognised* and enlarged by the author *."

Then the edition of 1583, again professing on its title page to be "*newly revised and recognised*, partly also augmented and now the fourth time again published and recommended to the studious reader by the authour."

The edition of 1596 was not published till after the death of Fox. The Editor of the new edition, however, states that it was "partially or completely corrected and revised by himself." How he learned this I cannot tell. The title page seems to me rather to imply the contrary †.

Now surely a man who writes a book, and goes on recognising and revising one edition after another for nearly five and twenty years, becomes responsible for what he does not alter, and suffers to be printed over and over again in his own name. Indeed it would almost seem as if Fox thought something of

* Life of Fox, p. 162.

† "Now againe, [not according to the former phrase *newly recognised*, but] as it was recognised, perused, and recommended to the studious reader by the author Maister Iohn Foxe, the fift time *newly imprinted*."

the kind, and did not feel it necessary to perpetuate the notice which had originally been given. For instance, I am informed that in the edition of 1570, "The tragicall history of Fredericke 2. Emperour" is for the first time inserted, and is thus introduced ;—

" For so much as the story of Fridericke the emperour is incident in the same tyme of this K. Henry 3. and containeth matter much worthy of memorie, considering the utilitie thereof: after the tractation of our English stories I could not but also insert the whole narration of thys tragical history of the said Fridericke, which *I have caused* faithfully & amplye to be collected and translated out of the Latine book of Nic. Cisnerus, containing as followeth," &c.—p. 373.

Now here, of course, Fox informs us that somebody else translated, though he makes himself responsible for the fidelity of the translation; but in the edition of 1583, this passage is so altered as to contain no hint that the translation was not his own ;—

" As touching the whiche Emperour Fridericke, because we have divers and sundry tymes made mention of him before, and for that his story is straunge, hys actes wonderous and his conflictcs tragicall, which he sustayned agaynst iiii or v Popes one after an other, I thought not out of story in a whole narration to set forth the same, for the reader to consider, what is to be judged of this Cathedrall Sea of Rome, which had wrought such abominable mischiefe in the world, as in the sequale of the story following faythfully translated out of latine into English is to be seene."—p. 296. (misprinted 276.)

I say this to vindicate my right to call the translations which I quote "Fox's," without being obliged

either periphrastically to say on every occasion, "the translation of Fox or of some other person or persons unknown," or else to commit myself to a decision in each case that it was or was not Fox's own personal work. I need hardly remind the reader, that, so far as regards the historical authority of the book, it matters not who was the translator; and now let us see whether this history which Fox considered so important is "faythfully translated" or not*.

<p>He was excellently wellseene in the latine and greeke tongues, <i>although at that time learning began to decay, and barbarous- nes to encrease.</i> He had also the Germanyn tong &c.—p. 457.</p>	<p>For he had acquired the knowledge not only of Greek and Latin literature (which after having been overwhelmed by barbarism was beginning to emerge) but also of the German.</p>
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Non enim solum Latinarum et Græcarum literarum (*quæ barbarie obruta
tum primum emergebant*) sed et Germanicam addidit.—p. 102.

<p>In the winter tyme tooke his iorny to Francofert.—p. 458.</p>	<p>Thence he went into winter quarters at Frankfort.</p>
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Inde in hyberna Francofurtum profectus.—p. 104.

* The text of Fox's translation in the following extracts is as it stands in the edition of 1583, for it would have been obviously unfair to make Fox responsible for what may have been tampered with in the new edition. Yet as it is probable that more readers of this pamphlet may have access to the new edition, the references under each extract are made to the corresponding page of it, instead of to the old edition. In the edition of 1583 the story begins at p. 296, (misprinted 276,) in the edition of 1596 at p. 270, in the edit. of 1684 at p. 335. I have here and there inserted a few words [between brackets] to make the passages quoted more intelligible. I must also beg the reader to observe, that, even where I make no remark, I am not responsible for the truth of the statements of facts contained in my translations.

He heard of certayne, that began to rayse & make newe factions agaynst him. Amongst whom, were found Thomas and Richard, *the Brethren of Innocentius the thyrd, Earle of Anaquinos*, that held certayn castles in the Kingdome of Neapolitanes *from him by force*.—p. 459.

There he found that others had entered into schemes of revolt; and in particular that, seduced by ambition, Thomas and Richard, Counts of Anagni (brothers of Innocent III.) who possessed some castles in the kingdom of Naples, had conspired with Otho IV. when he had invaded that kingdom with a hostile army.

Cum alios de defectione consilia iniisse, novisque rebus studuisse, tum præsertim Thomam et Richardum, Innocentii III. fratres, comites Anagninos, regni cupiditate inductos, quibus castella quædam in regno Neapolitano erant, cum Othone IIII. quando is id hostili manu invaserat, conspirasse reperiëbat.—p. 107.

Carolus Magnus in like manner, followed their steps and maner in the same, as in the 22. Canon, and the same distinction is declared. And farther it was at a Synodal Councell in Laterane (Adrian beyng hygh bishop, where were conuented & assembled 153 other bishops) decreed, &c.—p. 461.

Afterwards Charlemagne followed their custom, and in their footsteps, in this particular, when he had obtained possession of Italy. For, as is stated in the 22nd Canon in the same Distinction, a Synod being convened at the Lateran in which, Adrian being Pope, one hundred and fifty-three bishops assembled, it was decreed, &c.

Illorum deinde morem et vestigia Carolus Magnus occupata Italia hac in re secutus est. Ut enim in Can. 22. ead. Distinct. traditur, Sinodo Lateranensi indicta, in qua Adriano Pontifice CLIII. episcopi convenerunt, constitutum est, &c.—p. 113.

Whereupon Lotharius, afterward being Emperor & *nephew* to Carolus Magnus.—p. 461.

Whereupon afterwards the Emperor Lothaire, *grandson of* Charlemagne.

Quare postea Lotharius Imperator Caroli nepos*.—p. 114.

* Perhaps the translator had heard more of papal *nepotism* than of Charlemagne's family.

Whereby the old right & power of the emperour in the election of the byshop of Rome, and other ecclesiasticall prelates, was agayne with more sharper & straighter sanction confirmed & ratified. Again John the 18. whom Cressentius the Romayn (vsurping the imperial Crown) had made bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiastical order: hauing his nose cut off, & hys eyes put out & so thrust out of the capitol; was agayn of Otho 3. *established and made Byshop*.—p. 462.

Whereby that ancient right of the Emperor, as to the power of choosing the Pope, & appointing bishops, was confirmed by even a more weighty sanction; and again by Otho III. (John the XVIII, whom Crescentius the Roman usurping the empire, had, with the people and the ecclesiastics made Pope, having been thrown down from the Capitol after his nose had been cut off, and his eyes put out) *it was revoked*.

Qua vetus illud jus Imperatoris de potestate eligendi pontificis, constituendi Antistites, graviori etiam sanctione firmatum est rursusque ab Othone III. Ioanne XVIII. (quem Crescentius Romanus arrogato sibi imperio, una cum populo et ecclesiastico ordine Pontificem fecerat,) naso oculisque privato, et de capitolio præcipitato *revocatum est*.—p. 115.

It seems that the word “revocatum” caught the translator’s eye; and he did not consider how much more possible it was to “revoke” an edict than to “establish” a man who had been first of all deprived of his nose and eyes and then “precipitated” from the Capitol. We may well suppose that he did not himself know what he meant by being “thrust out.” But how came this to pass through all the recognitions and revisions of Fox? And the next is as bad, where the translator seems to have got hold of the word “delatum” and fancied it was “ablatum.”

So after the death of Henry the 3. Emperor Nicholas the 2. although in his decree (which in the first canon and 32. distinction is recited) gaue the primacie for the election of the Bishop of Rome, by the means of the priests & people of Rome, unto the Cardinals; Yet he woulde after that, that the prerogatiue therein should be reserved to Henry 4. the young emperor, *from whome the empire afterward was for a tyme wrested and taken.*—p. 462.

Sic post mortem Henrici III. Nicolaus II. quamvis decreto suo, quod can. 1. distinct. 23. recitatur, in eligendo Romano Pontifice, Cardinalibus ratione cæterorum sacerdotum, populique Romani, primas dederit; tamen Henrico IV. Regi impuberi, cui imperium delatum erat, jus in hac re suum voluit saluum esse.—p. 116.

Then first and neuer before, obtained the byshop of Rome, and quietly enioyed that prerogatiue of election, & bestowing of benefices: which he so long before with such great pollices (now secretly, now openly, & nowe wyth force) had sought for. And with what sufficient & good authoritie Gratianus will proue, that before this tyme the same authority was geuen to the city of Rome for the election of the Pope without the consent of the Emperor he sheweth: as in the

So, after the death of Henry III., Nicholas II., although by his decree which is recited in Can. 1. Distinct. 23 he had given to the cardinals a priority as it respects other ecclesiastics and the Roman people, in the election of a Pope, willed nevertheless that his [the Emperor's] right in this matter should be preserved to Henry IV. *to whom, then a child, the empire had devolved.*

Then first the Popes obtained complete possession of that right which so long, and with so many and such arts, now privily, now by force, they had sought. For that the documents by which Gratian endeavours to prove that at an earlier period the power of electing the Pope without the Emperor's consent was given to the city of Rome (as Can. 29, 30. and the Palea annexed to the latter of them, and Can. 31. in the same Distinct. 63.) have been fraudulently put forth for genuine by

29. & 30. canon, & *what good stuff he putteth in the latter*, & how subtilly that papisticall flatterer, or pontifical parasite, hath forged the same: Both Carolus Molineus sufficiently in diuers places hath noted, & by the obseruation of tymes may of a meane historiographer, that hath red the french & germain histories, soon be espied & discerned. For first, fiue bishops, one after another, succeeded this Gregory 4. upon whome the 29 Canon is entitled or fathered: that is Sergius 2. John 8. Adrian 2. John 9. & Adrian the 3. whiche Adrian by force wresting the authoritie of the election from the people, was made pope: When, as the Gregory (specially to be noted) would not take on him the papacie, before that the emperour had consented to his election. After this Molineus *compareth* Raphell Volateranus with the 30. canon which again is suspected: For why, Then agayn, how could Leo the fourth write to Lotharius & Ludouicus Emperours, that *counterfeit or forged decree* beginning with 'Constitutio' &c.—p. 463.

the papal sycophant Gratian, has not only been shown at large by Carolus Molineus, but may be seen by any one even moderately versed in French and German history, if he will consider the chronology. For in the first place that Gregory IV. to whom this 29th Canon is attributed was followed by five successive Popes, before that Adrian II., who on the power of electing to the Papacy being forcibly taken from the people, was made Pope; especially when that Gregory himself would not accept the Papacy before the Emperor had given consent to his election. Then Molinæus opposes the authority of Raphael Volateranus to Canon 30. which is also suspected on this account, because Then again how could Leo IV. write that *Palea* beginning 'Constitutio,' to the Emperors Lothaire and Louis, &c.

Tum igitur primum hoc jus quod tam diu ante, tot tantisque artibus, nunc clam, nunc vi Pontifices quæsierant, omnino sunt consecuti. Nam quibus

capitibus Gratianus ante illa tempora, Romanæ civitati potestatem illam eligendi pontificem absque consensu Imperatorum datam esse, vult demonstrare: ut can. 29. 30. adjunctaque *palea* posteriori, et can. 31. eadem Distinct. 63. fraudulenter a Gratiano assentatore Pontificio pro veris supposita esse, et ante in plerisque Carolus Molinæus notavit, et ex observatione temporum, a quovis vel mediocriter in historiis Francicis et Germanicis versato, animadverti potest. Primo enim Georgium IIII. cui can. 29. inscribitur, quinque ex ordine pontifices subsecuti sunt, ante Adrianum illum II. qui arrepta a populo per vim eligendi Pontificis potestate, Pontifex factus est: cum præsertim is Georgius ante pontificatum accipere nolisset, quam imperator in ejus electionem consensisset. Deinde Can. 30. Molinæus auctoritatem Raphæli Volaterani *opponit*, qui inde etiam suspectus est quod Tum quomodo *paleam* illam, cujus initium 'Constitutio,' Leo IIII. ad Lotharium et Ludovicum Augustos scribere potuit, &c.—p. 118.

Here it is obvious that the translator did not know what was meant by a *palea* in the Canon Law. He appears to have had no idea of anything but *chaff*, and to have supposed that Cisner used the word metaphorically, and so he translated it in one case "good stuff," and in the other, a "false and forged decree."

To whome also King John gaue Joell his daughter in marriage which came of the daughter of Conradus King of Jerusalem & Marques of Mounte Ferrat *; with whome he had for dowry the inheritaunce of the Kingdome of Jerusalem as

Who, having received in marriage Jole daughter of John, by the daughter of Conrad King of Jerusalem and Marquis of Montferrat, and all claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem which belonged to her in right of her mother having been transferred

* The new Edition has changed this to Montserrat. I suppose the Editor was misled by Sir Walter Scott, in one of whose Tales of the Crusaders that imaginary person figures bearing the device of a serrated mountain, as if to prevent all suspicion of a misprint.

right heyre thereunto by her mother; by whome also *he after obteyned* the Kingdome of Naples & Sicill, and promised that with as much expedient speede as he might, he would prepare a power for the recovery agayn of Jerusalem, & be there himselfe in proper person.—p. 466.

to him by way of dowry (whence it came that those who afterwards possessed the kingdom of Naples and Sicily used the title of King of Jerusalem) promised that he would as soon as possible make an expedition into Asia for the recovery of Jerusalem.

Qui data sibi in matrimonium Iole filia Joannis ex filia Conradi regis Hierosolymæ, et Marchionis Montisferrati, prognata, et dotis nomine omni jure regni Hierosolymitani quod ex materna hæreditate illi competebat, in se translato (unde et *qui* Neapolitanum et Siciliæ regnum *post possiderunt*, Hierosolymitani regni titulo sunt usi) se in Asiam ad vindicandam Hierosolymam quam primum posset expeditionem facturum promisit.—p. 124.

And that from Arsacida there came a great power agaynst the Christen princes.—p. 467.

From the Old Man of the Mountain assassins were sent into Europe to murder Christian princes.

Ab Arsacida *sicarios* in Europam Christianos reges trucidatum missos.—p. 126.

best souldiours that were in euery country.—p. 467.

a levy of soldiers through the whole kingdom.

delectus militum toto regno.—p. 127.

Great bandes set forth & marched to Brundusium. Theyr generals were Thuringus and *Sigebertus*, and *Augustinus the byshop*.—p. 467.

Louis Landgrave of Thuringia, and Sigebert Bishop of Augsburg, being their leaders, great forces had assembled at Brundusium.

Magnæ . . . Ludovico Thuringo, et Sigeberto Augustano episcopo ducibus, copiæ Brundusium confluerant.—p. 128.

Among whome also dyed Thuringus one of their generals.

Many, and among them the Landgrave of Thuringia him-

The Emperour, when he had somewhat recovered his health, with al his nauy launched out, and *set forward to Brundusium*. And when he came to the straites of Poliponences & Creta (*being islands lying in the sea*), &c.—p. 467.

Multi, et in his ipse quoque Thuringus, vitam amiserunt. Imperator ubi paululum convaluerat, cum omni classe *Brundusio solvit*: cumque *ad Peloponnesi et Cretæ insulæ angustias processisset*, &c.—p. 128.

When tidings hereof came to the Popes eare: He sent out his thundring curses & new excommunications agaynst the Emperour. The causes wherefore I find noted & mentioned by his own letters, that is: how that when he had robbed & taken from *Brundusius, prince of Thuring*, his horses, hys money & other rich furniture of his house at the tyme of hys death, he sayled into *Italy*: not for the entent to make warre agaynst the Turke, but to convey this prey that he had stolen & taken away from *Brundusius*, who neglecting his oath & promise which he had made, & feining himself to be sicke came home agayn. And that by his default also *Damietta* was lost, &c.—p. 467.

self, died. The Emperor, when he had in some degree recovered, sailed with all the fleet *from Brundusium*; and when he had gone as far as the straits between the Peloponnesus and the island of Crete, &c.

These things being made known, the pope excommunicated Frederic. For which I find him to have assigned these causes in letters,—that having, at *Brundusium*, seized on the horses, money and very costly baggage of the Landgrave of Thuringia who had died, he had sailed into Asia, not to prosecute the war, but to conceal that prey—that in neglect of the sacredness and obligation of his oath and vow, pretending sickness, he had returned—that by his fault *Damietta* was lost, &c.

His rebus nunciatis, Pontifex Fridericum tyrannidis suæ fulmine ferit: cujus rei causas eum in tabulis hasce proposuisse invenio, quod *Brundusio*

equis, pecunia, et pretiosissima supellectile *demortui Thuringi Reguli* direpta, non belli sed prædæ istius tegendæ et velandæ gratia in *Asiam* navigarit; quod neglecta sacramenti devotionisque religione et sponsione, simulato morbo redierit: quod ejus culpa Dammiata amissa, &c.—p. 128.

It is impossible to pass over these three paragraphs without notice. How could matter so unintelligible keep its place if it was once read over by the author, or by any person who was desirous to understand it? The troops under the command of Thuringus (called so from his property, as familiarly as Monkbarns or Dumbiedikes) marched to Brundusium. Then the Emperor with all his navy, containing of course all his army, launched forth and sailed to the place where they already were. Thuringus having died at Brundusium, that place became a person, and succeeded to his dominions under the title and style of "Brundusius, Prince of Thuring." This might (one would think) have attracted Fox's notice, for it was rather too much for the new editor, who has ventured, on his own responsibility, to change 'Brundusius' into 'Brundusium.' But this is obviously doing nothing, or worse; for it only makes the Prince of Thuring neuter, which is contrary to both grammar and history. And then Frederic, having robbed Brundusius's house, (which we may suppose to have followed him from Thuring either by land or sea,) sailed away from Brundusium to Italy, just as naturally as he might have sailed from Portsmouth or Plymouth to England. It was odd to be sure, but there was no harm in the thing itself; and even his captious enemy the Pope could find no fault with

it, except that it was not done with design to attack the Turk, whom, for anything that we can tell, the Pope might know to be in Italy, though other people have not heard of it. This is historical authority, and its value, in that point of view, is increased by considering, that, in fact, the Landgrave of Thuringia did not die at Brundusium but at Otranto; but this has nothing to do with the translation, which is all that Mr. Townsend has to defend.

Hitherto we have been, I believe, reading a straightforward translation of the work of Cisner; but here there is inserted (just as the king's letter was inserted into the extracts from Thomas Walsingham) the "effect of another letter" from Matthew Paris. Whether this was done by Fox himself, or by the nameless person employed to translate Cisner's book, or by some third person hitherto unheard of, and unsuspected, I do not pretend to decide; but I will give one or two extracts from the translation.

I pretermit sayth he, [the Emperor Frederic] the Symonies and sondry sortes of exactions (the lyke whereof was neuer yet heard) which dayly are vsed *amongest* the ecclesiastical persons.—p. 469.

I pretermit the simonies, the sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which they [the Court of Rome and particularly the Pope by whom he had just been excommunicated] incessantly practise on ecclesiastical persons.

Simonias exactiones diversas, et a sæculis inauditas, quas in ecclesiasticas personas incessanter exercent.—*M. Paris.* sub an. 1228. vol. ii. p. 348.

Let the Barons of England consider whether this be true or not, whom Pope Innocent by his bulles *with one consent* encouraged to ryse & rebell agaynst their soueraigne Lord & Prince King John your father, as an obstinate enemy to the church of Rome. But after that the King (farre out of square) *remembring himself* had crouched unto him and obliged both himselfe and Kingdome to the Church of Rome, more liker a woman then a man: and that the wise barons whome the Pope had first mayntained and stirred vp, without all shame eyther of the world or feare of God, had done the same: sought howe he might with gaping mouth deuoure and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betrayed and disshetred, as the maner of the Ro-mayne Bishops is.

Revolvant hæc inelyti Barones Angliæ, quos Papa Innocentius bullatis literis *communitos* animavit; ut in Regem Iohannem quasi ecclesiæ inimicum insurgerent obstinatum. Sed postquam enormiter *memoratus* Rex est incurvatus, et se suumque regnum ecclesiæ Romanæ, velut effeminate, mancipavit; prædictus Papa proceres, quos prius sustinuit et excitaverat, postposito mundi pudore Dominique timore, conculcavit morti expositos et miserabiliter exhæredandos; ut more Romano, protervo hiatu quod pinguis erat, proh dolor, absorberet.—*Ibid.*

Let the illustrious Barons of England consider these things, whom, *fortified* by his bulls, Pope Innocent encouraged to rebel against King John as an obstinate enemy of the church. But after the *before mentioned* king had monstrously humbled himself, and, like an effeminate person, enslaved himself and his kingdom to the church of Rome, the aforesaid Pope, setting aside all worldly shame and fear of the Lord, trampled on those nobles whom he had previously maintained and encouraged, when they were exposed to death, and miserable confiscation, in order that, after the Roman manner, he might, alas! draw the fatness unto his own greedy gaping jaws.

We now return to Cisner;—

By the help of the inhabitants of Pisa & the Genowayes & the *Dutch Souldiours*.—p. 472.

By the help of the Pisans, the Genoese, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order.

Ope Pisanorum, et Genuensium, *militumque Ordinis Teutonici*.—p. 136.

And thys was the cause that when all other men reioiced & were glad of the Emperours coronation, they, *as wicked confederatours* were heany therefore, and obtrectours of hys worthy laud and fame.—p. 472.

On the same account when the inauguration of Frederic took place with universal respect and gladness, these were making complaints *as of an unjust league*, and detracting from his praise.

Eadem de causa cum Frederici inauguratio incredibili omnium honore et lætitia fiebat, hi *quasi de iniquo fœdere* querebantur, laudique ejus obtrectabant.—p. 136.

The Pope, when he had thus conspired agaynst Fredericke, and had betrayed him to the publicke enemy of *all christen men*, the Turk: he could not *dissemble* this hys mischievous fact, nor content himself therewith, but that he would devise & practise yet another.—p. 472.

The Pope when, through perfidy, he had spread these snares for Frederic, and had betrayed *the Christian emperor* to the public enemy, could not, as soon as he had committed so great a crime, rest satisfied with one piece of wickedness, but must contrive another against him.

Pontifex cum has ex perfidia insidias Frederico tetendisset, cumque publico hosti *imperatorem christianum* prodidisset: non potuit *simulatque* tantum facinus commisisset, hoc uno scelere esse contentus quin aliud contra eundem moliretur.—p. 136.

Here it is quite clear that the translator took “simul-atque” for “simulat-que;” but he put down something for a meaning. After this we come to another insertion from Matthew Paris, not in the work of Cisnerus. The passage beginning, “Of this

treason of the pope against Frederick doth also Matthew Paris make mention," on p. 472 of the new edition, and the letter which follows it, are interpolated by somebody, and somebody is responsible for the translation. It is in this letter that the phrase "de thesauris apostolicis" occurs; but, as I have already noticed this*, and as Mr. Townsend declares that he and his learned friends cannot imagine what it means, I will not here repeat what might be considered a charge of ignorance against the translator of Fox. But I must insert what I said of the letter, not only because it is to our present purpose and actually comes in our way, but also that the reader may see what Mr. Townsend considers as an answer in such cases.

"A somewhat similar case of mistake, arising, as far as appears, from extreme carelessness in transcribing, and contented ignorance as to who and what the people were of whom the historian was writing, may be found at page 472 of the same volume.

'Of this treason of the pope against Frederick doth also Matthew Paris make mention, during his wars in Asia, who, saith he, purposed to have deposed him, and to have placed 'any other he cared not whom (so that he were a child of peace and obedience) in his stead.' And for the more certainty thereof, the said Matthew Paris repeateth the letter which a certain Earl of *Styria* wrote unto him concerning the same, which letter hereunder ensueth word for word.

* In the first part of these Notes, p. 92. from the British Mag. for April, 1842.

To the high and mighty prince, Frederick, by the grace of God, Emperor of Rome, and ever Augustus, and most puissant King of Sicily, Thomas, Earl of Actran, his faithful and trusty subject in all things, humble salutation.' &c.

If the reader has never heard of any earls of Styria, or of any place called Actran, either in that or any other part of the world, he may perhaps turn to the old edition of Fox, and he will then find that what is here called Styria, there stands Siria. This is, I presume, an intentional alteration, by which the editor thought that he was correcting the text, and for which he took colour from the head-line of the next page (303), which runs—"the letters of the Earl of Stiria to Fred." &c. As to his afterwards describing him (or letting him describe himself) as 'Thomas Earl of Actran,' it would have been much better to call him Thomas Aquinas, (which he really was, though not the angelic doctor who must at that time have been in petticoats, but one of his family,) for he was Earl of Aquino and Acerra, of which latter title Actran is, in the phraseology of the publishers, a supposed misspelling. I should rather suppose it to be a corruption of a barbarous translation of Matthew Paris's "Atteranensis," and that Fox had originally written it Atteran or Attran, and that the first black letter *t* had got changed into a *c*, as that letter is apt to do. Be this as it may, what had this Thomas Aquinas to do with either Siria or Stiria? And when the editor found one word in the text and the other in his margin, would it not have been better to turn to Matthew Paris than to content himself with merely modernizing Stiria into Styria, and putting that word, on mere chance, in place of Siria? If he had done this, he would have seen that the earl had nothing to do with Styria, and that even Syria was no more concerned in the matter than that when the earl had written his letter he sent it there to the emperor. The words of Matthew Paris are—"Sed quoniam hujus rei certitudo nobis non nisi per alios constare potuit, ponemus hic literas Thomæ cujusdam comitis, quem imperator cum quibusdam aliis in recessu suo, imperii tutorem constituit et rectorem: quas

imperatorī super hoc negotio in Syriam destinavit, et quas a quodam fide digno suscepimus peregrino." If the matter can be better explained, let it be; but I can only suppose that, in hastily running over the words of Matthew Paris, Fox took the word *Syriam* for the title of the person to whom the emperor had destined this business."—*Letters on Fox*, p. 56.

Thus I wrote in the *British Magazine* for October, 1837; and how is it met by Mr. Townsend, in his *Vindication*, not published until more than four years after? His words are just these:—

"I shall but weary the reader if I go on to comment on the contents of this letter, and consider, at greater and unnecessary length, whether Foxe was copying from Fabian (page 54) when he speaks of the abbeys built by the conqueror, or the mistakes about the Earl of Palatine (page 55),— a most unaccountable and intolerable error—or whether Foxe knew that Thomas Aquinas was Thomas earl of Actran (p. 56), or whether Foxe mistook the word Syria, for the title of a nobleman, as we sometimes say Northumberland or Devonshire, for the dukes bearing those titles. I pass on to page 59," &c.—*Life of Fox*, p. 321.

I am sorry that Mr. Townsend did not think fit to discuss the question whether Fox knew that Thomas Aquinas was Earl of Actran, because such a discussion must have been very amusing; but all that I had ventured to say was, that forasmuch as the writer of the letter was named Thomas, and really was Earl of Aquino, it would have been a less blunder and barbarism to have called him Thomas Aquinas, than by the entirely senseless name of ACTRAN. On that, however, which relates to what the reader has before him, I feel that it would be an

affront to his understanding to comment. But will he believe that the question whether Fox was copying from Fabian, on which Mr. Townsend would not enter for fear of wearying his reader, was only incidentally suggested by me to account for, and in some degree palliate, Fox's absurd blunder in telling his readers that *Bermondsey* Abbey was in *Normandy*? This piece of historical authority stands uncorrected in the new edition, vol. ii. p. 135; and because I suggested that Fox might have been led into the error by what Fabian says, (not that Fabian is guilty of any such blunder,) Mr. Townsend slips over the matter with an attempt to represent me as wanting to raise a futile dispute as to whether Fox was, or was not, quoting from Fabian. How necessary it is to watch great boasters, especially if they boast about magnanimity and such like! He admits that the blunders which I have noticed about the Count Palatine are intolerable; but why does he call them "unaccountable?" He had just seen blunders quite as bad. Surely an Englishman who states that *Bermondsey* and *Clarendon* are both in *Normandy*, (and on that same p. 54 I showed that Fox did both) could not be expected to be very accurate about foreign matters*.—But to proceed with Cisner:—

* The passage thus disingenuously alluded to is as follows:—
 "One would think that a writer (and even an editor) of English Church history might have learned more about a monastery so eminent as that of *Bermondsey* was, up to the very dissolution, than to have told his readers that it was founded by William the

Henry, fearing lest he should understand & know of these secret counsels, which he with his conspiratours had in hand agaynst hys father: or that he should vtter the same unto him, or that he should go about to dissuade him from that he was purposed to doe: *by authoritie of the court & senate of Rome, he put him out of office.*—p. 474.

Henry fearing lest if he should come to know these secret counsels which he had entered into against his father and Emperor, with the conspirators, he would either tell his father, or try to dissuade him from his enterprize, removed him from the court and senate.

Conqueror, or that it was in Normandy. But this case, though it requires notice, as showing how little Fox knew of the places about which he wrote, and that he was following (if any) some unworthy authority, is yet, I believe, of more importance in our enquiry, as *an instance of the extreme carelessness with which he copied.* I say, I believe this, because *he gives no authority*, and therefore may have correctly copied some other careless writer; but I cannot help thinking that he was copying from Fabian, whose words are,—‘He buylded .ii. abbeyes in Englande, one at Batayll, in Sussex, where he wan the felde agayne Harolde, and is at this day called the abbey of Batayll: and that other he sette besyde London, upon the south syde of Thamys, and named it Barmoundesay: and in Normandy he builded other .ii.’—p. 247. Should the reader think it impossible that Fox’s vaunted accuracy should have been misled by the juxtaposition of the words ‘Barmoundesay’ and ‘in Normandy’ (perhaps in his copy without a stop, and with only a contraction for the *and* between them,) I shall, perhaps, produce matter which may alter his opinion. Is it, indeed, more strange than for an English historian to talk of ‘the constitutions made at *Clarendon in Normandy?*’ p. 201.”—*Letters on Fox*, p. 53. Mr. Townsend’s answer to all this is, that he should weary his readers if he were to discuss the question whether Fox was copying from Fabian.

Henricus metuens, ne si hæc clandestina consilia, quæ contra patrem et Imperatorem suum cum conjuratis inivisset, rescisceret, aut ea patri efferret, aut se a cepto abducere conaretur, *curia et senatu amovit*.—p. 140.

To the entreating of this peace, & deciding of all controversies, he sent to the Pope eight or x of the noblest & chiefest about him, that were princes & dukes of the empire. As Bartoldust the patriarche of Aquileia, & his brother Otho prince of Dalmatia & Histria Eberhardus Juuauensis, Sigifridus, Reginoburgensis, Sibbotus Augustanus, a worthy prelate, Leopaldus of Austria & Stiria, & Bernhardus *being all dukes*, besides others of the nobility to accompany them.—p. 475.

To treat of this peace, and to investigate the causes of the controversies between Frederic and the Pope, Berthold, Patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Otho Duke of Dalmatia and Istria, Eberhard Archbishop of Saltzburgh, Sifrid of Ratisbon, and Sibottus of Augsburgh, Leopold Duke of Austria and Styria, and Bernhard Duke of Carinthia went to Rome.

Ad pacem hanc tractandam, causasque controversiarum inter Fredericum et Pontificem cognoscendas, Bertoldus Patriarcha Aquileiæ, ejusque frater Otho Dalmatiæ atque Histriæ regulus, Eberhardus Juvavensis, Sifridus Reginoburgensis, Sibottus Augustanus Antistites; Leopoldus Austriæ et Stiriz, Bernhardus Charionum duces Romam proficiscuntur.—p. 142.

The next yeare after (with much adoe) a peace was made & concluded between them, by the help & industry of Leopoldus of Austria, Hermanus *Capitaine of the Dutch Souldiers*, & the president of Messanea.—p. 475.

At length, in the following year, peace having been made by the interposition and management of Leopold of Austria, Herman, Master of the Teutonic Order, and the Archbishop of Messina.

Insequenti demum anno Leopoldi Austriaci, Hermanni *Teutonicæ Ordinis Magistri*, ac Messanensis Antistitis opera studio et intercessione tandem aliquando pace facta.—p. 142.

Whilest that these things were done in Italy & Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany against the Emperour by Henricus Cesar and Fredericke of Austria, hys sonnes being the chief authors thereof. For Henry being *disapoynted and shaken of from* his Lord Pope & other conspirators by reason of the peace between his father & him, as ye heard, began now to make *open* challenge to the empire.—p. 477.

While these things were taking place in Italy and Sicily, great commotions arose in Germany, Henry the Cæsar and Frederic of Austria being the authors of them. Henry, (as I have said) was *seduced and perverted by* the Pope and his party, and *secretly* aspired to the empire in opposition to his father.

Dum hæc in Italia et Sicilia geruntur, magni in Germania Henrico Cæsare et Friderico Austriaco authoribus, motus exoriuntur. Henricus a pontifice ejusque sectatoribus (ut dixi) *seductus et depravatus* erat, Imperiumque *clam* contra patrem appetebat.—p. 146.

Came to Boioria: who had not there remayned a yeare, but was, as he walked abroad at a certayne tyme stabbed in with a dagger of *one Kelhemius*. p. 477.

He had betaken himself to Bavaria. Having been there not much more than a year, he was wounded with a mortal blow while walking in [the town of] Kelheim.

Boioriam se contulerat. Non multo amplius anno ibi commoratus, *Kelhemii cum deambulet*, lætali vulnere percussus.—p. 146.

What does it matter whether Kelheim was a place or a person? And why should anybody be expected to know that, in order to give security to those Christian princes who should quit their dominions to engage in the Crusade, the Pope had ordered that no advantage should be taken, and no war carried on between themselves, while the holy war

continued? The translator saw the word “subsidi-
um,” and translated it “subsidy;” what could be
more natural?

Furthermore vnto the em-
peror [who was returning to
Italy with an army] he [the
Pope] sendeth his embassa-
dours, to whom, vnder the pre-
tence of nourishing a peace, he
had geuen secret commande-
ment: that they should inter-
dict him & his host, as soon as
he came within the borders of
Italy. To the preseruacion of
which peace, saith he, he had
(but late since) promulgate a
subsidie to be gathered amongst
the christians, when he began
the holy warre.—p. 478.

To the Emperor, however,
he sent ambassadors, who were
to prohibit his entering into
Italy with an army, under pre-
tence of the peace which he
had long before publicly com-
manded to be maintained among
Christians, with a view to the
furtherance of the Crusade.

Ad Imperatorem autem legatos mittit, qui ei pacis specie, quam *ad
subsidiū* belli sacri inter Christianos tuendam jampridem promulgarat,
Italise ingressu cum exercitu interdicant.—p. 150.

After this the translator seems to have got into
the ‘aggravating’ vein. First, one place, and
secondly, one person, is turned into two; and, thirdly,
twenty-five ships are increased to thirty-five. Of
course this cannot be quite right in itself, though it
may do for historical authority. Two which follow
need no comment.

At the recouering of Marchia
and Ternissana.—p. 479.

In subduing the March of
Trevisa.

In subigenda Marchia Teruisiana.—p. 152.

As well Pandulphus *and* Colonucius, as the letters of the Emperor do both right well declare.—p. 480.

Præter Pandulphum Colonucium illius ipsius etiam epistolæ, aperte demonstrant.—p. 153.

That at their *publique* charges, they should rig and man 35, gallyes.—p. 480.

Beside Pandolphus Colonus, the Emperor's own letters plainly shew.

That at their joint charge a fleet of twenty-five galleys should be equipped by them [the Venetians and Genoese].

Ut *communibus* impensis, ab his classis xxv. triremium adornaretur.—p. 154.

Albertus Behauus of the noble house called *Equestri*.—p. 481.

Albertus Behamus....born of noble family.

Albertum Behamum.....*equestri familia natum*.—p. 154.

Frederic again getting on hys side the Lucenses, the Volateranes, the *Genenses*, the Aretines, & diuers cities besides in Hetruria, to help that countrey: came to *Pisas & Viterbium*, which tooke parte with him.—p. 486.

Frederic having gained over to his side the inhabitants of Lucca, Volterra, *Sienna*, Arezzo, and most of the cities of Etruria, that he might bring help to his own dominions went *from Pisa to Viterbo*, which was in his interest.

Fredericus conciliatis sibi Lucensibus, Volateranis, *Senensibus*, Aretinis, et plerisque Hetruriæ civitatibus, ut regno suo opem ferret, *Pisis Viterbium*, quod suarum erat partium, se confert.—p. 164.

The next presents a very singular specimen of the translator's ignorance, both as respects the subject matter, and the Latin words which he was professing to translate.

The Pope, when he understoode that Fredericke was come

The Pope when he heard that Frederic had come to Vi-

to Viterbium, he was very heavy: for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which citie the pope much mistrusted. He therefore *caused a supplication to be drawne portraying about the same, the heads of Peter & Paule*; & with a sharpe & contumelious oration he much defaced the emperour; promising them euerlasting life, & gaue them the badge of the crosse, as many as would arme themselues, & fight against the Emperour, as against the most wicked enemy of God & the church. Now when the Emperour marching somewhat near to Rome gates, beheld those whom the Pope had, with his goodly spectacle of S. Peter & S. Paul, & wyth his alluring oration stirred vp against him, & marked with the badge of the crosse, to come foorth in battel against him: Disdaining to be accompted for the enemy of the church, who had ben thereunto so beneficial, geuing a fierce charge uppon them, put them soon to flight: *& as many as hee took (cutting off that badge from them) he caused to be hanged.*—p. 486.

terbo was very much alarmed, both because he feared that he would come still nearer to Rome, and he doubted the fidelity of the Romans. Having therefore ordered litanies, and the heads of Peter and Paul (if we are to believe them genuine) having been carried round in procession, and having attacked the emperor in a sharp and abusive oration, he promised the reward of eternal salvation to, and marked with the sign of the cross, all those who were willing to take arms against Frederic, as a most wicked enemy of God and his church. When the Emperor drew near to the gates of Rome, and saw those whom the Pope by his procession and his promises had stirred up against him, coming to meet him bearing the mark of the cross, being indignant at the idea of being considered by them as an enemy of the Church, and having dispersed them by a powerful attack, he ordered all whom he took prisoners to be tormented by either cutting, or burning, the mark of the cross in their flesh.

Pontifex ubi Fridericum Viterbium venisse audivit, magna est adfectus

sollicitudine, quod et ad urbem propius accessurum Fridericum timeret, et voluntati populi Romani diffideret. *Decreta igitur supplicatione, et circumlatis Petri et Pauli (si credere fas est) capitibus, asperaque et contumeliosa oratione Imperatorem insectatus, iis salutis æternæ præmia est pollicitus, Crucisque nota insignivit, qui adversus Fridericum, tanquam scelestissimum Dei et ecclesiæ suæ hostem, arma caperent. Cum jam Imperator portis Romanis appropinquasset, et quos Pontifex spectaculo atque pollicitationibus suis adversus se concitaret crucis signo notatos obviam contravenire conspexisset, indignans se ab illis pro hoste Ecclesiæ Christianæ haberi, iis magno a se impetu profligatis, quoscumque ceperat eos vel inusta vel incisa crucis nota, excruciaci jussit.*—p. 165.

I know not what Mr. Townsend may have to say for this, but to me it really seems too bad. The translator, who appears to have known nothing of the history, and never to have heard of the Pope's carrying the heads (or relics said to be the heads) of St. Peter and St. Paul in his own hands in procession on this occasion, appears to have imagined that a "supplication" was a document like the more modern supplications of charity boys and bellmen, (if these are not now out of date) embellished with marginal pictures of the Apostles. And as to the punishment which the Emperor inflicted on the captives, the word "incisa" seems to have caught his eye; and then, as he did not conceive of cutting *on*, he felt obliged to make it cutting *off*; and, as cutting off a badge was no great punishment, he threw in of his own bounty the hanging to make up. If this is not inventing history I should like to know what is.

This Henrie was the sonne
of Henry Leo, the traitor : unto
whom Henry the 6 the father

But this Henry was son of
Henry Leo, whom Henry the
Sixth, the father of Frederic,

of Frederick gave in mariage Clementia his brother's daughter Conradus Palatine of Rhenuus, & gave vnto him the keeping of the Palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boiora, that *hee had also long now possessed* by the *heirs* of Otho Witespachius.—p. 488.

(having given him in marriage his niece Clementia, daughter of Conrad Palatine of the Rhine) had made Palatine on *precarious* tenure *. As to Bavaria however, it must be known that it also had for a long period been possessed and governed by the ancestors of Otho Witespachius. [*See Du Cange in v. Precaria.]

Henricus autem ille, filius fuit Henrici Leonis: cui Henricus VI., pater Friderici, data in matrimonium Clementia patruele sua, Conradi Palatini Rheni filia, præfecturam palatii Rhenani precario concesserat. Quod vero ad Bojariam attinet, sciendum est, jam olim quoque illam a majoribus Othonis Witespachii possessam et ministratam fuisse.—p. 170.

At the same time also the At the same time the Arch-
gouvernor of Colonia Agrippina. bishop of Cologne.
—p. 488.

Eodem tempore Præsul Coloniz Agrippinæ.—p. 174.

As to the next, let the reader look at it just as it stands in Fox's pages after repeated revisions and recognitions;—

All which things [viz. that the Pope had called a Council at Rome] Fredericus hauing vnderstanding of, & knowing that these assemblies should be but to the destruction & supplanting of him: determined to stop & let their [Italian, French, & English Bishops] passages to Rome, as well by sea as by lande, in all that euer he might. So that, all the passages by land being now stopped & preuented, he commanded his sonne Henry with certaiu gallies, to goe & keepe the coastes of Sardinia, which kingdom the Italians cal Entimum: & from thence to Pisas, & with the Pisans to rig out a nauie to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aide the Pope at Rome. The Pope's champions, vnderstanding that by land they could

not safely repaire to Rome : they procured of gallies & ships of Genua (hauing Gulielmus Braccius for their chiefe Capitaine or Admirall) for fortie saile their defence : thinking hereby, that if they should fortune to meete with any of the Emperours ships or galleis which should lye for them in wait, they should be able to make their part in good, & geue them also the repulse. Encius in like manner, & Huglinus (being Captain & Admirall of the Pisan nauie for the Emperour, launched forth to sea with 40. ships & gallies : and betwixt the iles of Liliun & Mons Christi, which lie betweene Liburnium & Corsica they met with the Genewes ships : and straightwaies fiersly began to grapple with them & bourd them, in which fight at length were 3. of the Genewes ships with boulged & sonke, & 22. taken & brought away, with all the riches & treasure in them. In these were taken 3. legates of the Popes whereof were two Cardinals Iacobus Columnas, Otho Marchio, & Gregorius de Romania, (all cruel enemies against the Emperour) & many other prelates moe : besides a great number of legates and procuratours of cities, with an infinite number of monkes & priests, besides of Genewes souldiours 6000. with diuers others.—p. 489.

Before I give the original of this, let me ask the reader if it does not in the very face of it, bear very plain marks of absurdity? Could anybody who knew the history and felt sufficient interest in it to think it worth inserting among the acts and monuments of the Church, have read it over without suspecting that there must be some blunder? The Pope calls a council at Rome. The Emperor having cut off all approach to the city by land, sets to work to intercept those ecclesiastics who might attempt to come by sea. He therefore “commanded his sonne Henry,” (of whom we have just been reading at p. 40, and

who, if he was alive, was, as he had been for some years, and indeed was as long as he lived, imprisoned in Sicily as a rebel and traitor, and therefore one is surprised to hear of his appointment) “with certain gallies to goe and keepe the coastes of Sardinia.” What could it be for? Could it be for any purpose but to keep him out of the way of ships coming from England, France, and various parts of Italy to Rome? Surely he might as well have been sent to keep what Fox calls the “coasts of Silesia *,” only that it might not be so easy to find them, or to approach them with a navy. But for some reason or other Henry was to keep the coasts of Sardinia, “which kingdom the Italians cal *Entinum*.” Do they? Who ever heard of it? And then because he was to keep the coasts of Sardinia, he was to go to Pisa. Could any man of common consideration read this without feeling that it was nonsense? Can one feel less than pity for the reckless ignorance which talks of taking such senseless rubbish “with respect and deference as an undoubted authority?”

When these things became known, Frederic, being aware that they were about to assemble, under the influence of the Pope, for his destruction, resolved to prevent their access to Rome both by sea and by land.

Quibus rebus cognitis, Fredericus quod ad perniciem suam a Pontifice conductos convenire, exploratum haberet; qua terra, qua mari, omne eis iter Romam versus intercludere instituit. Itaque omnibus viis ter-

* New Ed. Vol. II. p. 576.

Having therefore taken possession of all the roads by land, he ordered his son Henry [not the son of whom we have been reading, but an illegitimate one whom he had made King of Sardinia, whom the Germans called Henry, but] whom the Italians call Entius [or Encio] to go from the Kingdom of Sardinia, to Pisa with some gallies, that in conjunction with the Pisanese, whom he had likewise ordered to equip a fleet, he might meet those of the Pope's party who were going to Rome, and if possible intercept them. The Pope's party, understanding that they could not safely travel by land, obtained as a convoy forty gallies and ships of the Genoese, under the command of Gulielmus Braccius, and hoped to be able by these means to repel any danger that they might be in from the attempts of the Emperor. Entius, and Hugolinus the commander of the Pisan fleet, having put to sea with forty gallies, when they met the ships of the Genoese, within the islands of Giglio and Monte Christo, which lie between Leghorn and Corsica, suddenly attacked them; and when their com-

retribus præoccupatis, filium suum Henricum Sardiniae regno (quem Itali Entium vocant) Pisas cum aliquot triremibus ire jussit: ut cum Pisanis, quibus ipsis quoque mandaverat, ut classem adornarent, Romam petentibus Pontificiis occurreret, et si fieri posset, eos interci-peret Pontificii, quod se terra tuto iter facere non posse intellexissent, quadraginta triremibus et navibus Genuensium, Guielmo Braccio duce, sibi præsidii causa adjunctis, his se si quæ pericula et insidiæ ab Imperatore intentarentur, propellere posse sperabant. Encius et Hugolinus Pisanorum præfectus classis, cum XI. triremibus in altum provecti, cum eis naves Genuensium intra insulas Lillii et Montes Christi, quæ inter Lyburnum et Corsicam sitæ sunt, obviam venissent, subito in eas impetum fecerunt: quem cum dux eorum Gulielmus, contra voluntatem Ecclesiasticorum fugam spectantium sustinere vellet, tribus navibus submersis, reliquæ omnes quarum XXII. erant, cum omnibus rebus quæ in iis fuerunt, in potestatem imperatoris venerunt. In his capti sunt tres legati Pontificii, Jacobus Columna

Tartarorum Imperatoris filius, cum quam maximis copiis, Bathum cognatum suum, adjunctis Cadano, Bugotho, Orodario ducibus, omnibus que iis rebus quæ ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparatis; ad finitimas regiones vastandas et in suam potestatem redigendas mittit Itaque Tartari Roxolanos, Podolios, Muldavos, Walachos, Polonos, Borussos, nemine fere repugnante subigunt, agros depopulantur, urbes, oppida, pagos, villas, ædificia omnis generis diripiunt, incendunt, destruunt, diruunt.—p. 179.

The translator (if he is to be so called when he does not even attempt to translate) seems to have thought that “Roxolanum, Bodolium, and Mudanum” were three “cities, towns, or villages*.” In the next he is at his old trick of making one person into two; and carries out his blunder with a defiance of grammar which one would have thought impossible.

By this time the Tartarian hoste was come as far as Uratistlaudia where Henricus of Polonia and the Duke of Silesia, with *their* army met with them: who for the inequality of the number & small strength *they* were of, had soon an overthrow, & almost all *their* souldiours being slain *they themselves* were taken & put to the sword.—p. 491.

They had already reached Breslau, when Henry Duke of Poland and Silesia went forth with an army to meet them; who, for as much as he was greatly inferior in force, having encountered them and almost all his army being destroyed, was himself taken prisoner and slain with an axe by the barbarians.

* And so for any thing that appears did the editor of the new edition. The passage has so far engaged his attention, that in courtesy to “the general reader,” the word “Whilest” has been changed into “While,” and “Ochodarius the Emperour of the Tartarians his son” into “Ochodarius the son of the Emperor of the Tartars.” Moreover “wan” is modernized into “won;” but what he won the general reader may find out as he can.

Jam ad Uratislaviam processerant, cum eis Henricus Poloniae atque Silesia Dux, cum exercitu obviam ivit : qui quod tantis copiis longe impar esset, cum iis congressus, omni fere exercitu deleto, captus, et a barbaris securi percussus est.—p. 180.

In the following, as if for compensation, two persons are made into one ; and perhaps Mr. Townsend will vindicate the translating “*operam suam deferebant,*” by they “*deferred their journey.*” It is not worse than giving “*thin garments*” for “*laneis vestibus.*”

Notwithstanding, he sent *Conradus Cesar, King of Bohemia* & other princes more of Germany to resist & withstand the enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The great army & number of such soul-diours as ware the crosse by the pope's assignement, *deferred their journey* against the Tartarians, & had commandement giuen them by that Albertus (the popes procurator) to tarry & abide at home till they should be called for in battaile to fight against the Emperour.—p. 492.

He sent orders to Conrad the Cæsar, to the King of Bohemia, and other Princes of Germany, to go and meet the enemy. A great number of those who had taken the cross in Germany were offering their assistance against the Tartars, whom that Albert, the pope's agent, ordered to remain at home until they should be called out by him against the Emperor.

Conrado Cesari, Bohemiae Regi, et aliis Germaniae principibus imperat ut hosti occurrant. Magnus in Germania eorum numerus, qui nota se celestis signarant, contra Tartaros operam suam deferebant, quos Pontificis in Germania procurator Albertus ille, domi expectare jubet, donec ab illo adversus Imperatorem evocentur.—p. 182.

The Pope herewith dismaied, & troubled *with such as otherwise dissuaded & coun-*

The Pope overwhelmed by so great misfortunes, and disturbed that the Council [which

sailed him, and that things not so well prospered with him and against the Emperour as he wished and desired.—p. 494.

he had called at Rome, as we have just seen] had been prevented, and his designs against the Emperor not succeeding to his wish.

Pontifex tantis calamitatibus fractus, concilioque præpedito perturbatus, cum quæ adversus Imperatorem moliretur, non ita ut optabat succederent.—p. 183.

This [Gregory IX.] is he in whose name the booke of the Decretals was set out, Doubtlesse Charolus Molineus painteth forth the decree of this Gregory in his booke of annotations unto Platina, whose woordes thereof are these ‘Certum est, multa capita in ijs mutila et decurtata esse, ut invidiosum argumentum lateret,’ &c. That is, Doubtlesse, diuers chapters in the same booke of decretals be mangled and imperfect, *that many contentious arguments therein might lurke.* For when the ambitious desire of raigning lyke kings tooke them, they studied nothing els but how to enlarge and aduance their See and Dominion with the empire itselfe and other kingdomes (ofte shaken and weakened through contention) and this purpose and end had they and

This is he in whose name the Decretals were published, and what sort of a work that is certainly Charles Du Moulin shews in his Annotations on Platina’s life of Gregory; to whose opinion I cannot but accede. It is certain that many of the divisions in them are mutilated and curtailed in order to avoid unpleasant subjects. For as the Popes, from the time when they were seized with the ambition of temporal rule, thought of nothing but the aggrandizement of their dominion both by the weakening of other kingdoms and infraction on the Empire, so they had the same design in their laws. Du Moulin gives the cases of the kings of France and England as examples of this; but many others might be collected concerning Emperors, Princes, and the various orders of the

none other, in al their consti-
tutions. The profe whereof,
Molineus declareth in his boke
'de regibus Gallix et Angliæ.'

But many moe examples by
the Emperors, Princes, and
Lords Electours of the Em-
pire may be gathered: 'whereof
to speake, more conuenient
place shall serue hereafter.—
p. 494.

Empire, which we shall find
some more convenient place to
discuss.

Hic idem ille est, cujus nomine opus Decretalium est editum: quod cujus-
modi sit . . . certe Carolus Molinæus in annotationibus suis ad Pla-
tinam de vita Gregorii docet: cujus sententiæ equidem non possum non
accedere. Certum est multa capita in iis mutila et decurtata esse, ut invi-
diosum argumentum lateret. Cum enim Romani Pontifices, ab eo tempore
quo eos incessit regnandi libido, nihil aliud cogitarint, quam ut cum aliis
regnis debilitatis, tum Imperio violato, suum amplificarent dominatum:
eundem etiam finem in suis constitutionibus propositum habuerunt. Cujus
rei exempla Molinæus de regibus Gallix et Angliæ refert: sed multo plura
de Imperatoribus, Principibus et ordinibus Imperii colligi possunt: de
quibus alius erit commodior disserendi locus.—p. 184.

It is the more remarkable that this gross blunder-
ing should have been permitted to remain in one
edition after another, because the translator has given
enough of the original to show that he did not
understand what he was translating. Cisner says,
that he cannot but agree in Du Moulin's opinion of
the Decretals of Gregory IX., because some are
mangled and imperfect, and, indeed, designedly so,
for the sake of avoiding awkward topics. A very
good reason for not receiving the Decretals (as Mr.
Townsend would have us receive Fox) "with respect
and deference as an undoubted authority;" but such

sailed him, and that things not so well prospered with him and against the Emperour as he wished and desired.—p. 494.

he had called at Rome, as we have just seen] had been prevented, and his designs against the Emperor not succeeding to his wish.

Pontifex tantis calamitatibus fractus, concilioque præpedito perturbatus, cum quæ adversus Imperatorem moliretur, non ita ut optabat succederent.—p. 183.

This [Gregory IX.] is he in whose name the booke of the Decretals was set out, Doubtlesse Charolus Molineus painteth foorth the decree of this Gregory in his booke of annotations unto Platina, whose woordes thereof are these ‘*Certum est, multa capita in ijs mutila et decurtata esse, ut invidiosum argumentum late-ret,*’ &c. That is, Doubtlesse, diuers chapters in the same booke of decretals be mangled and imperfect, *that many contentious arguments therein might lurke.* For when the ambitious desire of rainging lyke kings tooke them, they studied nothing els but how to enlarge and aduance their See and Dominion with the empire itselfe and other kingdomes (ofte shaken and weakened through contention) and this purpose and end had they and

This is he in whose name the Decretals were published, and what sort of a work that is certainly Charles Du Moulin shews in his Annotations on Platina’s life of Gregory; to whose opinion I cannot but accede. It is certain that many of the divisions in them are mutilated and curtailed in order to avoid unpleasant subjects. For as the Popes, from the time when they were seized with the ambition of temporal rule, thought of nothing but the aggrandizement of their dominion both by the weakening of other kingdoms and infraction on the Empire, so they had the same design in their laws. Du Moulin gives the cases of the kings of England as examples of the manner in which the law was manipulated to serve their purposes.

none other, in al their consti-
tutions. The profe whereof,
Molineus declareth in his boke
'de regibus Gallia et Angliae.'

But many moe examples by
the Emperors, Princes, and
Lords Electours of the Em-
pire may be gathered: whereof
to speake, more conuenient
place shall serue hereafter.—
p. 494.

Empire, which we shall find
some more convenient place to
discuss.

Hic idem ille est, cujus nomine opus Decretalium est editum: quod cujus-
modi sit . . . certe Carolus Molinæus . . . in annotationibus suis ad Pla-
tinam de vita Gregorii docet: cujus sententiæ equidem non possum non
accedere. Certum est multa capita in iis mutila et decurtata esse, ut invi-
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a rejection of them is something almost the very reverse of charging them with being purposely contrived as a lurking-place for "contentious arguments." The notion of Du Moulin's book, "*De Regibus Angliæ et Galliæ*," is absurd enough. The passage to which Cisner alludes is evidently the following: "*Qui [that is Raymond, whom the Pope employed to make the collection] tamen non solum superflua posuit, ut sed sæpe male truncavit Decretales quandoque studiose truncavit ut lateret invidiosum argumentum, ut in cap. 'Ex frequentibus' De Instit. quod latum erat contra regalia regis Angliæ. Sic in plerisque latis in favorem inimicorum Regis Franciæ, ut in cap. 'Novit' De Judic. **"

In the steade of this Gregorie was placed Celestine borne in Mediolanum amongst the Castillians.—p. 495.

In the place of Gregory, Celestine IV, a Milanese, of the family of Castiglioni was raised to the see.

In locum Gregorii Cælestinus IV. patria Mediolanensis, Castellonæ gentis est suffectus.—p. 185.

The legates of Fredericke, also with the furtherance of Baldwinus, the Emperor of Constantinople, laboured very diligently for the conclusion

Frederic's ambassadors, with the help of Baldwin, laboured very diligently with the Pope for peace. All men were most fully expecting the pacification

* Molinæi Annott. in Decr. Greg. IX. p. 14. If the reader wishes to turn to those specified, it may save him trouble to know that "*Ex frequentibus*" is Lib. II. Tit. vii. c. 3. and "*Novit*" Lib. II. Tit. i. c. 13.

of the promised peace; & to be of Christendom. But far
brief, every man was in good otherwise, &c.
 hope, & looked for no less.
 But far otherwise, &c.—p.
 497.

Legati Friderici adjuvante Balduino, magno studio de pace cum Pontifice
 agunt. *Summa est* omnium hominum de pacificatione reipublicæ christianæ
 expectatio. Verum longe aliter, &c.—p. 189.

The master of the Flemish The Master of the Teutonic
 order.—p. 498. order.

Teutonici ordinis Magistrum.—p. 192.

In this faction of princes, In this quarrel of princes
 in this *liberty of nearing armor*, . . . this licence of a state of
 in this licence of hurting & war, of hurting and sinning with
 sinning.—p. 500. impunity.

In hac . . . principum factione, *armorum licentia*, nocendi peccandique
 impunitate.—p. 200.

Ludovicus Palatinus Duke Lewis Palatine of the Rhine
 of Boioria & Rhenus, & Otho and Duke of Bavaria son of
 his son, and other princes.—p. Otho, and many other princes.
 500.

Ludovico Palatino Rheni Boiorumque duce, Othonis filio, aliisque multis
 principibus.—p. 201.

What idea could a man have of what he was
 writing, or even of what he was reading, about, who
 was satisfied to make or find a continual recurrence
 of such a blunder as turning two persons into one, or
 dividing one person into two? It is a very odd sort
 of historical authority.

[Conrad Cæsar] shortly after Soon after going with an
 coming again to Reginoburgh army to Ratisbon, having been,
 & being received & welcom- according to ancient custom,
 med into the college of D. received as a guest at the mo-

Haimeranus: Albertus with nastery of St. Emmeran, Albert with some of his confederates, by the help of Ulric the Abbot, in the middle of the night, entered the chamber in which he knew that the Cæsar with a few servants were lodged lie, &c.—p. 501. &c.

Mox cum exercitu Reginoburgum profectus, cum D. Haimerani collegio more majorum hospitio receptus fuisset; Albertus cum consciis quibusdam Ulrici præsulis monachorum opera clam in cubiculum, in quo Cæsarem cum paucis famulis cubare exploratum habebat, multa jam nocte ingressi &c.—p. 203.

It is probable that the translator had never heard of the celebrated monastery at Ratisbon, dedicated to St. Emmeran, the late bishop, and the patron saint of that city, in which Conrad was received. But if he did not know that Haimeranus was a saint and D. stood for 'Divus,' he had the prudence to let it alone. Not so the editor of the new edition, who does not suffer the "general reader" to be puzzled by a contraction, but prints it out at full length "Doctor Hamaranus."

It is very possible that the reader may be tired of these extracts; but it is only from some idea of the number and frequency of such things, that any right judgment can be formed. I do not believe that any man can translate a great deal, without at least a high probability that he will make some mistakes, such as will surprise himself. To pick out such marks of imperfection from a work even tolerably executed, and to represent them as rendering it

worthless, would be base and dishonest. . But I must beg the reader to observe, that I have given him very nearly fifty separate extracts, several of which contain more than one or two distinct and gross blunders, and that all these specimens lie (as he will see by the references annexed to them) within about forty-six consecutive pages of the new octavo edition, that is, rather less than seventeen pages of the folio.

It may be said that they are principally taken from a translation, which we have reason to believe was made by some other person than Fox, of a single book; that on that particular occasion Fox "unaccountably" employed somebody who was particularly ignorant of Latin; and who, if he could make one tenth part of those blunders, might be naturally expected to make all the rest.

To this I answer, that, if so, we must, at least, take into our estimate of historical authority the consideration, that Fox *did* employ such a person, for such a purpose. How often, and how much he did the like, I know not. I was not led to select this history of the Emperor Frederic for collation by any idea that it was better or worse translated than any other part of Fox's book; but simply by my happening to find that Cisner's work was in the library at Lambeth*, and thinking that it offered a large speci-

* A rhodomontade oration, which he delivered before the University of Heidelberg, where he was professor of Law, in the year 1562.

men of what was *avowedly* translation, from which it would be easier, and fairer, to judge, than from parts where one had no direct proof that the writer was translating, or intended to say exactly that which had been said by what appeared to have been his authority.

Secondly, as I have repeatedly said, the question of historical authority is not in the least affected by the question whether Fox did it himself or by deputy.

Thirdly, though I have not in any other case made so extensive a collation, (and really this one has been done in a very superficial manner, so that while I know that I might have mentioned many more mistakes, I have little doubt that there are others which I have not observed), yet here and there, in one way and another, specimens have turned up from so many of the authorities quoted by Fox, that I feel warranted in expressing a doubt whether this translation of Cisner is marked by any great peculiarity. In fact, the editor of the new edition met with some adventures early in his course, which he related very frankly, and which would have raised suspicion in the mind of any considerate person. At vol. iii. p. 55, he tells us in a note that the English editions translate "*Jam si sine dominio regnare juvat,*" by "If it do suffice thee to rule with the Lord;" and he has altered it to "Now if it do suffice thee to rule without dominion." This is certainly a closer translation of the words, however difficult it

might be for either King Richard or Pope Eugenius to carry out the idea, if any, in practice *. Surely if such a hint as this did not lead to further inquiry, the editor might have been roused, when, in the course of twenty pages, he came to another specimen still more startling. He found "Operibus credite," (John x. 38, "believe the works,") translated "Trust in your good works†." Surely it was high time for a Protestant divine, a kinsman of Mr. Townsend, to look about him.

Yet he might have easily found other passages of Scripture as disgracefully marred. For instance, in a letter of Bishop Waltram to Earl Ludovike, as given in the edition of 1583, p. 189, this passage occurs; "Also take you heed to this saying, 'If any man do preach otherwise than that which is preached,

* No doubt it is, as the Editor says, "dominium" in the Latin edition, but no doubt that is nonsense. Wickliffe is applying to Richard, part of what S. Bernard said to Eugenius, "I ergo tu, et tibi usurpare aude aut dominans apostolatam, aut Apostolicus dominatum. Plane ab alterutro prohiberis. Si utrumque simul habere voles, perdes utrumque. Alioquin non te exceptum illorum numero putes, de quibus queritur Deus sic, 'Ipsi regnaverunt, et non ex me; principes exstiterunt, et ego non cognovi.' Jam si regnare sine Deo juvat, habes gloriam, sed non apud Deum."—*De Consid.* Lib. II. c. vi. Perhaps Wickliffe's letter might be taken from a copy of Bernard, which read *Dominus* instead of *Deus*; but I give the text as it stands in the Benedictine Edition, Col. 419.

† Vol. III. p. 75.

let him be *of you* accursed*.” It can hardly be doubted that the translator took this from the copy of the letter which is in the Appendix to Marianus Scotus, published at Basil, by John Oporinus, in 1559. At p. 444 the passage stands, “præter quod evangelizatum est, vobis anathema sit.” This misplaced comma seems to have misled the translator; but had he any notion that it was a text of Scripture, or of its meaning?

I know not who is responsible for the translation of this document; but a still more absurd and ignorant version, or perversion, of a passage of Scripture occurs just after the preceding. The editor of the new edition has laudably given, in brackets, references to the texts which precede and follow it, but he seems not to have known where to find this, if indeed, mangled as it was, he believed it to be in the Bible at all. He gives the passage thus;—

“And of them who ‘know not the righteousness of God, but go about to establish their own righteousness’ and therefore ‘be not subject to the righteousness of God.’” [Rom. x. 3.] I may boldly say ‘Let them be accursed,’ so may *you well say*, ‘Confounded be all they that proudly rise up against the Lord; but thy servant, O Lord, shall rejoice.’

* The Editor of the new edition seems to have thought that there was something wrong here, but instead of looking to the vulgate translation of Galat. i. 8, 9. or to the words of the letter, “Attendatur et illud, ‘Si quis aliter evangelizat præter quod evangelizatum est vobis anathema sit,’” he has merely left out the words “of you” instead of substituting “to you.”—Vol. II. p. 156.

The passage thus mangled is Ps. cix. 28. "Let them curse, *but bless thou* ; when they arise let them be ashamed, but let thy servant rejoice ;" which stands in the bishop's letter, "*Maledicetur illi, et tu benedices : qui insurgunt in me confundantur, servus autem tuus lætabitur.*"

In Earl Ludovic's reply to this letter, which follows, we read ; "Lord, shall I not hate them that hate thee? and shall not *I triumph over* thine enemies? I hate them with an inward hatred *that be enemies to me for thy sake,*" as the translation of "Nonne qui oderunt te, Domine, oderam, et super inimicos tuos *tabescebam?* perfecto odio oderam illos, inimici facti sunt mihi;" which we translate, "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? and am not I *grieved* with those that rise up against thee? I hate them with perfect hatred: *I count them mine enemies.*" Ps. cxxxix. 22.*

Another instance confirms our opinion of the translator's ignorance both of Latin and of the Scriptures.

"We are not therefore to be blamed, if we do detest that peace, more cruel then any warre. The whiche the truth itselfe did reprove, weeping over Hierusalem, and saying: Truly it grieueth me this day to see sinners in peace, being like unto that peace, whereat the

We are not, therefore, rightly blamed, if we protest against that peace, more cruel than any war, which Truth itself condemns, weeping over Jerusalem, and saying,—'truly in this day the things which belong to thy peace,' [Luke xix. 42.] and which the Psalmist

Psalmist was offended."—p. 191. envied in the wicked when he saw the peace of sinners. [Ps. lxxiii. 3.]

Non ergo recte culpamur, si pacem illam omni bello crudeliorem detestamur, quam ipsa veritas super Hierusalem fiendo reprobatur, id dicens: Equidem in hac die quæ ad pacem tibi, et quam Psalmus super iniquos zelat pacem peccatorum videns."—*App. ad Mar. Scot.* col. 450 *.

These are not the only things in this letter which show that the translator was most ignorant and incompetent. For instance:—

"The Earle Lewys to the Lord Waltram, howsoever unworthy or unmeete he be for the name."	The Earl Lewis to the Lord Waltram, whatever is due to such a name.
--	---

Comes Ludovicus domino Valtramo, quicquid tali vocabulo dignum est.

"You railingly call them bloudy men."	You obliquely call them bloody men.
---------------------------------------	-------------------------------------

viros sanguinum . . . oblique appellas.

And in the letter to which it is a reply, we read:—

"Thirsting for an others bloud."	Thirsting after our blood.
----------------------------------	----------------------------

nostrum sanguinem sitiens.

"Hath no part with Christ in the Kingdome of God."	Nor hath part in the Kingdom of Christ and of God.
--	--

Nec habet partem in Christi regno et Dei.

"And, because I will not refuse the order of lawe in this"	And that it be not refused, let this be the law of our con-
--	---

* The vulgate reads in the former passage, "et quidem in hac die tua, quæ ad pacem tibi;" and in the latter, "zelavi super iniquos, pacem peccatorum videns." In our version, "I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked."

behalfe, let it be the end of the strife : that either I may be openly ashamed before the people, either els (the victory falling on my side) we may winne you to the obedience of our soueraigne Lord the Emperour."

*Ac ne forte recusetur, lex hujus esto certaminis; vel me in populorum transire sententiam, vel, ex nostro triumpho, vos domino nostro imperatori lueri faciamus *.*

I have already given some specimens from Matthew Paris, and I will here add another example from the same writer. The subject is the variance between Pope Gregory IX. and the citizens of Rome. They claimed that, by ancient usage, they were exempt from liability to excommunication, and their city not subject to interdict. The Pope told them that though less than God he was greater than man ; and, that as their spiritual father, he had a right to chastise them when he should think proper. They alleged that he was bound to pay a yearly tribute to the civil government of Rome ; and he replied, that what his predecessors had done in times of emergency was no ground for a claim, and ought not to be drawn into a precedent. Then comes the following passage, which the reader will, I imagine, even with the previous explanation, find unintelligible ; and I

* The translator was probably again misled by the punctuation. The document is professedly taken from the Appendix to Marianus Scotus, where the comma is placed after "lex," col. 444. These letters may also be found in Baronius, sub an. 1090, No. IX.

shall be much surprised if he can escape the conviction that the translator did not understand his author, and was satisfied to put down words to which he was himself unable to attach any clear idea.

“Further and besides, the Citizens sayd, that they at the commandement of the Senatour would appropriate their cuntry with new and larger limits, and infranches the same being enlarged with fines and borders.

To this the Pope agayne made answer, that certayne Lordshyps and cities and castles be contained within the compasse of the sayd limites, as the city Viterbium, and Montcaster, which they presume to appropriate, within their precinct: but to ascribe to them and usurp that which pertaineth to other, is agaynst right and justice.”—Ed. 1583 (281). New Ed. II. 411.

A dispute carried on in this way might well have been interminable; for one does not see how the parties could understand each other. But, in fact, it is a mere blunder of the translator, who imagines that “the citizens sayd,” what Matthew Paris says in his own person, respecting those citizens.

“Moreover, [not the citizens said, but the historian remarks] a thing unheard of and never done before, they [the citizens] wanted, at the command of the Senator, to alter the old boundaries and appropriate a larger territory to their city; and when thus appropriated to subject it to new exactions. To this the Pope replied, that within those bounds were contained some estates, and even cities and towns; as the city of Viterbo and the town of Montalto, which were included in the limits which they presumed to propose for their territory: but that it was unjust to usurp and appropriate the property of another.”

Præterea, comitatum suum, (quod inauditum est, nec antea factum) metijs novis et amplis, jubente Senatore, voluerunt sibi appropriare; et appropriatum intitulare novis suprascriptioibus. Ad hoc respondit Dominus Papa, quod infra metas illas continentur quædam prædia et etiam civitates et castra, utpote Viterbium civitas, et Altus Mons castrum, quæ infra metas illas continentur, quas comitatui suo assignare præsumunt: sed alienum sibi ascribere et usurpare injustum est.—M. Par. sub an. 1234. vol. ii. p. 408.

Take another specimen from the same author, and the same page;—

“The popes army
and the Emperor’s host joyned
together, and bordering about
the city of Rome cast downe
the *castelles or mansions* be-
longing to the citizens round
about the suburbes to the num-
ber of 18, and destroyed all
their vines and vineyardes
about the city.”

“The Pope’s army
and the Emperor’s host, join-
ing together razed eighteen
villages belonging to the Ro-
mans and encircling the city,
and cut down the vineyards.”

Tunc exercitus summi Pontificis et exercitus Imperatoris, simul convenientes, *casalia* eorundem Romanorum per gyrum urbis posita, numero xviii. prostraverunt, et vineas succiderunt.—p. 409.

I am not sure that I have not elsewhere noticed an extract from Matthew Paris respecting the Abbot of St. Alban’s*. He tells us that the Pope sent “two english Friars into the realm whose names were John and Alexander,” to gather contributions in England; and who assessed the Abbot at four hundred marks; and that upon his refusal, “immediately was sent down from Pope Innocent *another legate* called Joannes Anglicus, an English Friar and

* II. 439, 440.

Cardinal, who bringing down a new special precept to the aforesaid Abbot, cited him," &c. Now, according to the authority from whom the story is professedly taken, the Pope did not send another legate at all, but only a letter, addressed to the friar (why Fox calls him a cardinal I cannot imagine) who had at first claimed the four hundred marks; and Matthew Paris is careful to tell us, that the person to whom this new authority was addressed, (*quidam de ordine Minorum Johannes nomine*), and whose proceedings under it he is about to describe, is the same Johannes "*de quo facta est mentio in foliis præcedentibus.*"—*Tom. II. p. 722. 728.*

Now really if we were to grant that Fox was the first person that ever printed an extract from Matthew Paris, however we might be obliged to him for making known the existence of a writer that had never been heard of, we should not feel that his extracts entitled him to undoubting confidence as an historical authority. Of course I grant nothing of the kind; but how can a book composed in such a way be quoted as authority for any historical fact? Are not those who thus use the original writers, doing all in their power to destroy historical evidence of every kind, and practically poisoning the sources of history, seeing that not one in a hundred, or perhaps in a thousand of the readers of Fox's *Martyrology* will look to his authorities? I cannot too often repeat, that the instances which I adduce are not the result of that laborious collation which the

editor should have performed, but such as I have made at various times when a reference caught my eye, or an authority which I remembered to have been quoted by Fox happened to come in my way.

I have looked out one or two references to Æneas Sylvius, and it seems as if that unlucky Pope had been subject to the same mangling as the Heidelberg professor. Indeed, from what we have seen of the translator, it is clear that with Papist or Protestant, Trojan or Tyrian, ‘*nullo discrimine agetur*,’ or, as he would perhaps have translated it, ‘he would act with no discrimination.’ I wonder what the unfortunate class, whom the editor of the new edition calls “general readers,” would make of what Æneas Sylvius says of Ludovicus, the prothonotary, who spoke at the Council of Basil. Fox makes him tell us,

“In disputation he did not repeat the principles of the law, as other lawyers do, but rehearsed the text without the book, as if he had read it upon the book.”—New Ed. III. 629*.

Whatever idea people may have of the prolixity of lawyers, it seems too much to represent them as

* If I understand the mode of marking adopted by the editor of the new edition, this sentence is only to be found in the first English edition. Fox, I presume, or somebody else, happened to notice it, and justly considering it as unintelligible, struck it out. It would, perhaps, have been better to look at the original and set it right; but still it was the next best course to put it out, and one can only wish that as the book has scarcely had any *positive* editorial care, it had not been deprived of such little *negative* improvement as it had thus received, by the present editor, who prides himself on having collected and restored all the cancelled matter. Among the rest this passage has resumed its place, without a word of explanation. It might be worth while to notice it simply on that ground; but much more, as it relates to our enquiry, because it shews the singular ignorance of the translator.

habitually repeating the principles of the law in all disputation. But Æneas Sylvius had no such intention. Having previously eulogized the uncommon memory of Ludovicus, he here tells us, that when he was arguing he did not merely quote laws by their first words (as we have just seen a quotation of ‘*Ex frequentibus*’ and ‘*Novit*,’ and as our modern lawyers talk of the statutes of ‘*Quia emptores*’ and ‘*Circumspecte agatis*,’ of the writs ‘*Habeas corpus*’ and ‘*Quo minus*’), but repeated the law itself as fluently as if he had been reading it from a book.

“*Nec ut cæteri jurisconsulti principia legum in disputando allegabat, sed quasi codicem legeret sic textum memoriter referebat.*”—*Op.* p. 24.

From Bartholomæus Georgieviz Peregrinus take these instances. Concerning the Christian captives of the Turks we read;—

“The hands also of every one are manacled, which is, because they should not harm their leaders : for many times it happened, that ten persons had the leading of *fifty* captives.”—*New Ed.* IV. 85.

It should be “five hundred”—“*adeo ut sæpe quingentos homines concatenatos habeant, vim metuunt tantæ multitudinis.*” p. 83. Again, in an extract from the same author, we read,

“If it chance a Christian, being on horseback, to meet, or pass by a Mussulman, *that is a Turkish priest*, he must alight from his horse,” &c.—*New Ed.* IV. 86.

I need hardly say, that the authority does not give

this explanation of a Mussulman ; but only “ id est Turcarum religione initiatum *.”

“ Nauclerus another historian,” says Fox, “ recordeth, that at the same time there were many in the city of Milan of the said doctrine, who used to send collections unto the aforesaid saints of Alsatia.”—II. 350.

It may not matter much whether the heretics of Alsace sent to Milan, or the heretics of Milan to Alsace; but the Latin is “ In partibus etiam Alsatiæ tum hæresis et error tam nobilium quam plebeiorum multum increvit unde quotannis hujus erroris et hæresis authoribus Mediolanum certum censum miserunt †.”

MASSÆUS is a writer sometimes quoted by Fox; and I believe that the copy which he used is in the Lambeth library. At all events there is a copy which bears both his name, and that of Bishop Hooper on the title page, and I have no doubt that they are autographs. Fox says ;—

“ Pope Celestinus was chosen, successor to pope Nicholas the fourth. Which Celestinus in hys first consistory, began to reforme the clergy of Rome thinking to make it an example to al other churches. Wherefore he procured to hymselfe such a hatred among hys Clergy men, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a reede by his chamber wall nightly admonished him, as it had bene a voyce from heauen, that

* Barthol. Georgieviz Peregrinus, De Turcarum moribus epitome. Lug. 1567.

† Chronica. Edit. Colon. 1579. p. 912.

he should geue ouer his Papacie, as beyng a burden bigger then he could wyld. *Ex Massæo.*" Edit. 1583. p. 342*.

Now the Latin, which in this copy is marked down the side and underscored with a pen, does not say that Benedict did this; but very plainly that he set somebody else to do it. It is no great matter in itself, but it is characteristic of the carelessness in copying of which we have too many instances. Massæus says;—

"Quorum unus non re sed nomine Benedictus, apposuit quendam cubiculo papæ, qui facto foramine per fistulam multis noctibus insonabat velut angelus quispian."—p. 242.

Let us next look at the "Articles of Truce†" between Edward the III. and the King of France, after the siege of Tournay. Perhaps they were derived "from the records in the Tower;" and should be received as historical authority howsoever they may be translated. If they were not, it makes no difference in our argument. The first article is;—

"Fyrste, that during the sayde truce, no tales or mistrust of either part shall be a detriment or cause of breache of the same."

* I do not know why the editor of the new edition has omitted the words, "Ex Massæo," Vol. II. p. 585. At Vol. IV. p. 166, he gives a reference, "Ex Massæo, lib. 30." Whether this is his mistake, or Fox's, I do not know, for I have not that part of the edition of 1583; but there are only twenty books in Massæus, and the matter to which this reference is appended, is in the twentieth, p. 271, where it is underscored. Indeed the very title of the book is "Chronicorum multiplicis Historiæ utriusque Testamenti, Christiano Massæo Cameracenate autore, libri viginti." Antv. 1540.

† Ed. 1583. p. 380, misprinted 368. New ed. Vol. II. p. 679.

Here it is evident that the translator did not know the meaning of “novitas;” but took it for something like “news,” or talebearing; and that led him to translate “malum” by “mistrust.” The real meaning, though it may not be easy to render it into any one modern English word, being widely different; and the article, a stipulation against any attack being made, or any injury practised, by one party against the other. The articles are given both in Latin and French in Rymer’s *Fœdera* *;—

“Primo quod durantibus dictis treugis nulla novitas, nullum malum, vel gravamen fiet ab una parte super alterum [*sic*] in præjudicium dictarum treugarum seu induciarum.”

“Nulle nouvelle, ne mesprissure ne se face de l’une parties sur l’autre,” &c.

In the fourth article the sense is entirely changed

Item that the said two princes shal not procure either by themselves or any other, any practice or other molestation to be made the one to the other, by the byshop of Rome or any other and that our holy father the Pope nor any other *shal disturbe or molest eithor of the sayd two Kings* during the sayd time.

Item it is agreed that the aforesaid two Kings shall not procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or others that any practice or molestation be made by the court of Rome and if our holy father the Pope or any other person shall attempt it, the said two Kings shall hinder it with all their might, so far as they lawfully can, during the said truce.

Item concordatum est quod prædicti duo reges non poterunt procurare, nec procurari facere per ipsos, nec per alios, quod aliqua novitas seu gra-

vamen fiant per curiam Romanam et si pater sanctus summus Pontifex, vel aliqua alia persona hoc vellet facere, dicti duo reges hoc impedirent pro posse suo sine malo ingenio [les deux Rois les destourberont a lour poair, sans mal engyn] durantibus dictis treugis.

The eleventh is still more absurdly translated—

“Item that all the bandes, whatsoeuer they be, whyche be made before thys sayde truce in the time of warre (whether they be of goods spiritual or temporall) be released without restitution during the sayd truce.”

Now what is the meaning of this? how, and for what, is it historical authority? and how far are we indebted to those who give us such translations of documents as (whether rightly or wrongly translated) obviously, and on the very face of them, have no meaning at all? It would be more intelligible, and I believe more truly translated, thus ;—

“Item that all things levied [or as our ancestors would have said *lifted*, that is all *spoil taken and carried off*] in the time of war, before the said truce, whatsoever and howsoever, whether spiritual goods or other, shall remain as spoil: without any obligation on any one to make restitution during the said truce.

Item ordinatum est quod omnia levata qualiacumque sint et qualitercumque sint ante dictas treugas tempore guerræ, sive sint de bonis spiritualibus, vel aliter, remanebunt levata: sine hoc quod aliquis teneatur ad restitutionem durantibus dictis treugis.

But Fox not only “printed from records in the Tower;” he confirms “his statements from the Registers of Hereford.” I have only compared one translation: that of the Letter of Lucifer; and from it I feel it sufficient to give a single extract.

“We would ye shuld do We commend unto you our
our commendations to our en- most dear daughters pride, de-

tierly beloued daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, avarice, bellichere, and lechery, & to al other my daughters: and especially to Lady Symony, which hath made you men, and enryched you, and hath geuen you sucke wyth her owne brestes, & *weaned* you, and therefore in no wise see that you cal her sin. And be ye lofty and proud because that the most high dignitie of your estate doth require such magnificence. And also be ye couetous, for whatsoeuer ye get and gather into your fardell, it is for St Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimony and the Crucifixe, and therefore yee may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the highest seat of dignities without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of our aduersarye Jesus Christ, and alledging againe: that he preferred his kinsfolkes (being but of poore & base degree) vnto the Apostleship, but do not you so, but rather call, as ye do, those that liue in arrogancy, in hawtiness of mynde, and filthy lechery, vnto the state of welthy riches & pride," &c.—*Edit.* 1583. p. 502. New Edit. Vol. III. p. 190.

ceit, anger, avarice, gluttony, lewdness, and all the rest; and especially the lady Symony, who has been the making of you, and enriched you, and suckled you at her own breasts and nourished you. And this Symony you are not to call a sin. Neither is it pride in you, for the worshipful eminence of your station requires such magnificence. Nor are you to be charged with avarice, for whatever you can gather^r in your pouches is for St. Peter, and for the peace of the church, and the patrimony of the Crucified. For though you promote your Cardinals to the very summit of dignity on very slight grounds, you may excuse yourselves by saying that our adversary Jesus promoted his relations to the Apostleship. That, however, was in a poor and humble state of life. Not so do you; but in arrogance, pride, and vile lewdness you call to a state of riches and pride, &c.

Commendatas habere velitis filias nostras carissimas superbiam, fraudem, iram, avaritiam, gulam, luxuriam, et omnes alias et precipue dominam Simoniam quæ vos fecit et ditavit et propriis lactavit uberibus et nutrit. Ipsamque Simoniam non vocetis peccatum. Nec vos estis superbi, quia talem magnificentiam requirit status vestri dignissima celsitudo. Nec avari quia pro sancto Petro et ecclesiæ pace et patrimonii Crucifixi est quicquid in sarcinis congregatis. Licet namque vestros cardinales ad apicem dignitatum levissime promoveatis allegando dicatis nostrum adversarium Jesum suos promovit cognatos ad Apostolatam, vita tamen pauperi et humili. Vos autem non sic. Sed in arrogantia fastu et luxuria vili vocatis ad statum divitiarum et superbis, &c.

I think I must have given examples enough to convince all impartial persons, that the historical authority of Fox's work is greatly diminished by the want of knowledge and care displayed in copying and translating. But I will here add another instance which I have only observed since the foregoing were collected. Nearly if not quite all were, indeed, noted several years ago, but I did not bring them forward, because it seemed right first to see in what way Mr. Townsend would perform his part of the undertaking. But now in transcribing them for the press, though I had no idea that they had been unfairly gathered, I thought I would take a random dip into some part of the history not touched on in the foregoing extracts, and probably involving a different set of authorities. The edition most accessible was that which is called the best, of 1684, and opening it at Vol. I. p. 835, I determined to look down the margin of the History of the Turks, and verify (if I could) the first authority given. This turned out to be, "*Ex Seb. Munstero, lib. 4. Cosmograph.*" This led me to see that Munster's name is also given in the paragraph next but one before,

as an authority respecting the battle between Tamerlane and Bajazet ;—

“ The fight between these two was long and great on both sides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397, and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia ; but the victory of this battel fell to Tamerlanes, at length. In the which battel as Munsterus writeth were slain 200000 Turks.”

The second paragraph is ;—

“ Seb. Munsterus writing of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his army 20000 men : and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia : and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the river Euphrates with *six hundred thousand* footmen, and *four hundred thousand* horsemen ; he invaded all Asia Minor, conquering & subduing from the flood Tanais unto Nilus in Egypt, and was called *Terror Orbis*, the terror of the world.”—p. 839.

Afterwards referring to the editions of 1583 and 1596, I found them unanimous in affirming that the number of Turks killed in the first paragraph was *two millions*. Then (whether in consideration of what they had done, or of what they were going to do) they had raised Tamerlane's army, in the second paragraph, to two hundred thousand ; while they agreed in affirming that, besides his six hundred thousand footmen, he had *four millions* of horsemen.

The Editor of the new edition is more moderate. He is content to kill two hundred thousand Turks ; and to give Tamerlane an army of two hundred

thousand men, six hundred thousand foot, and four hundred thousand horse.

But as to the statement of Munster, the professed authority for the whole, it is plainly and simply that two hundred thousand Turks were killed, and that Tamerlane's army consisted of *twelve hundred thousand* men. It may be said that some of the above numbers are given in figures; and that one cannot expect printers to count the cyphers which they put, and that so it is very natural for 200000 to get changed into 20000, and 400000 into 4000000. It may be so; though while the wrong number stands it is rather against historical authority. The question here, however, is not merely one of more or less cyphers, but of different figures; and it must be observed that Munster does not state the number of Tamerlane's army in figures. Notwithstanding this, I should not think the matter worth mentioning if I did not believe, that those who have seen enough to estimate the capabilities of the translator will agree with me in thinking that he did not know how to translate Munster's words, "In cujus exercitu *duodecies centena millia* hominum fuisse traduntur *."

The specimens adduced are surely sufficient to convince us, that if the work were examined with any degree of editorial care, enough would be found

* Lib. IV. p. 957. Basil. 1559. The place and period of so many of Fox's authorities.

to satisfy every reasonable person, that even on the ground of *gross mistranslation*, it was of little value as an historical authority. I do not recollect that any one of the errors which I have pointed out has been noticed in the new edition, except one or two in such a way as I have mentioned in speaking of them; and am I not authorized to assume, that if the Editor had used due diligence he would have found, and might have corrected, an enormous mass of error? What would be the effect of a little reflection, a little consideration of Fox's statements, and a little collation of them with his authorities? I do not ask the reader to take my word for an answer to this question. The experiment has been tried; and, oddly enough, with something less than half the first volume; that is with the second portion (386 pages) of that volume of which nearly five hundred preceding pages are filled with the vindications of Mr. Townsend and Mr. Cattley. "The opening of the first book, and the succeeding history of the ten persecutions in the primitive church, was a portion of Foxe's book which required peculiar care. In this the Editor was favoured with the able assistance of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, jun., and the Rev. H. Mendham. The reader will perceive the result of these labours, and the general correctness of our author's history; confirmed as it is in some passages, and illustrated in others, by notes and emendations.*"

* Vol. I. p. 488.

The reader will I think “perceive the result of these labours” to be such as completely to confirm what I have said, if he will but bear in mind that the notes are not the work of unfriendly critics, that there is no room for talking about carpers and cavillers, and pretending that all the things pointed out, and corrected, or cancelled, were trifles not worth mentioning. They are the work of gentlemen appointed by the parties most deeply interested to put as fair a face on the matter as it will honestly bear. The corrections are what Mr. Pratt and Mr. Mendham have considered it right to make, the faults are those which they have felt it worth while to point out, and the notes such as in their opinion ought permanently to accompany the amended text*. Let us look at some of these notes, or parts of them;—

11. n. (1) “This passage on the sources of revenue to the papal court is taken from a work of Carolus Molinæus . . . In fact the greater part of what Foxe says on the life, jurisdiction, and title of the bishops of Rome has been culled from that work. Collation with the

* If Mr. Cattley’s words, which I have quoted, are to be taken strictly, the personal responsibility of these gentlemen extends only through the first 304 of the 386 pages of Fox’s work contained in this first volume; for so far only does the history of the ten persecutions extend. As I quote the page they are not liable to injustice on this ground. The reader will observe that the brackets distinguish the words of the annotators from those of Fox’s text to which they are appended, or his note to which they are added. I have nowhere, I believe, altered or inserted a word, but I have marked some by *italics*.

original has detected several blemishes in Foxe's translation, which have been removed.

15. n. (4) Dist. 63 [§. 38. The copy in the 'Corpus Juris Canonici' varies a little from that quoted by Foxe, &c.
23. n. (4) 'Rome' (in Foxe's text is a mere slip for Roan or Rouen, which is the reading in Molinæus, &c.
- n. (6) which was decreed an. 417 [Labbé places this council under 397, &c.
25. n. (3) Some clauses have here been interchanged, to render the history correct.
37. n. (7) Ex Urban I. dist. 59, cap. 2. 'Si officia.' [This chapter should be attributed to Zosimus, &c.
38. n. (2) Foxe erroneously calls this the 5th General Council, &c.
41. n. (2) Foxe says by mistake, 'the council of Calcedon & the Emperor Justinian,' with neither of which was John IV. contemporary.
49. n. (1) Amb. de Vocatione Gentium, lib. ii. cap. 16 ; [This work is now ascribed to Prosper, and is printed in his name, &c.
54. n. (7) The same Cicero calleth Cratippus, 'principem hujus ætatis philosophorum.' Lib. i. Offic. [Rather 'Principe hujus memoriæ philosophorum : ' De Officiis, lib. iii. cap. 2. &c.
89. n. (2) Suetonius says 'Nepotes,' which Foxe mistranslates 'Nephews.' They were the sons of Germanicus, &c.
- n. (5) By whom also [Rather 'in whose reign.'
- n. (6) Vienne in Dauphiny [Foxe says 'Lyons,' on what authority does not appear.
91. n. (3) Several of Foxe's dates hereabouts have been corrected, &c.
92. n. (1) The dates in this historical summary are taken from L'Art de Verifier des Dates.
95. n. (1) Dorotheus in his book named 'Synopsis,' testifieth [This is occasionally rather indifferent ground to found any assertion upon, &c.

95. n. (7) Foxe here confounds Thaddæus, the apostle with another Thaddæus, &c.
- n. (8) Abdias writeth [The assertions of Abdias are not considered to be well founded Foxe has confounded Simon Cananeus with Simon, one of our Lord's relatives.
96. n. (2) The next authority, the treatise 'De duplici Martyrio' is incorrectly assigned to Cyprian, &c.
- n. (3) There is some mistake here: Jerome assigns no date whatever.
- n. (4) The foregoing narrative is from the 'Acta Martyrii S. Andreæ,' a production ascribed to the presbyters and deacons of Achaia, but rejected by M. Tillemont as of no authority. Ribadeneira quotes the work, in *Vitâ S. Andr.*
97. n. (7) Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 23. Foxe's translation has been revised from the greek.
100. n. (3) The tyrannous rage of which emperor was very fierce against the Christians, 'Insomuch that, (as Eusebius records) &c. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 26; [Eusebius, however, is describing Nero's severity toward the *Jews* not the Christians; and is quoting from Josephus, 'De bello Jud.' lib. ii. cap. 18. § 2.
101. n. (3) Pseudo-Abdias From Foxe's residing so long as he did at Basle, he seems to have become acquainted with books, and introduced their contents into his Acts and Monuments, which under other circumstances would not have engaged his attention; nor, as in the present case, much deserved it.
103. n. (1) Foxe's translation has been revised from the original greek of Jerome.
104. n. (1) This is a mistake. Jerome represents, &c.
- n. (5) Foxe is not quite correct in this assertion, &c.
105. n. (2) Foxe's text has by mistake 'Eusebius' instead of 'Jerome.'

- 105 n. (4) If John died (as Jerome states) 68 years after our Lord's Passion, the statement of Foxe is very improbable that he was then 120 years old . . . the general expression 'about one hundred' has, therefore, been substituted for Foxe's 'one hundred and twenty.' Several other dates hereabout (not in Jerome) have been corrected.
- n. (7) Foxe's translation has been revised from the original Greek of Clement, &c.
115. n. (1) Pliny's Epistles x. 97, 98. A *new translation* of these two celebrated letters has been substituted for Foxe's, which is loose and often obscure.
117. n. (1) Phocas bishop of Pontus [Rather of Sinope in Pontus, &c. Ed.]
- n. (8) Ex Hier. in Catalogo Script. Eccles., whence Foxe's text is corrected.
118. n. (1) A *new translation* from the Greek is substituted for Foxe's.—ED.
119. n. (3) Foxe here confounds the Zeno just mentioned with another Zeno, &c.
121. n. (2) A *new translation* is substituted for Foxe's.
123. n. (3) The following narrative is from Justin's dialogue with Trypho, near the beginning of it, whence a few expressions of Foxe are altered.
131. n. (2) Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 15. The whole of the matter from hence to the bottom of page 134, is from this chapter of Eusebius; a *new translation* however is substituted for Foxe's, which is often loose and obscure.
137. n. (3) The *translation* of this letter in Milner's Church History (vol. i. p. 224) being very superior to Foxe's, has been here *substituted* for it, with a few variations.
144. n. (2) The following are *new translations*.
145. n. (2) Foxe erroneously ascribes this expedition to both M. Antoninus and his brother, &c.

146. n. (3) The above translation is made from the Latin Edict in the Centuriators.
151. n. (5) About the year of our Lord one hundred and four-score [Rather A. D. 172—185.
- n. (6) Naclerus saith it was in the year 156. [Naclerus rather says, 'Anno autem Domini 177,' etc.
155. n. (4) Foxe, misapprehending a passage of the Centuriators, says, 'by the account of Jerome,' whereas they quote Jerome as rather impugning the opinion of Epiphanius and Ruffinus. Foxe also by mistake says 'seven' thousand volumes, &c.
- n. (5) This statement is most likely founded on a misconception of Eusebius, who says, &c.
156. n. (1) Eusebius (ibid. cap. 4.) does not say that Serenus was brother to Plutarch, but in the preceding chapter he represents Heraclas (brother of Plutarch, and afterward bishop of Antioch,) as the second of Origen's pupils. Foxe hastily assumed hence, that Heraclas and Serenus were the same individual. Heraclas 'was no martyr.'
157. n. (3) Some expressions of Foxe are more conformed to the Greek.
163. n. (1) Platina has been misunderstood here; he quite coincides with Damasus.
- n. (5) Foxe, it will be remarked, occasionally defers to indifferent or rather modern authority, &c.
175. n. (2) Vincent is probably mistaken, and the Magdeburgh Centuriators, whom Foxe has copied, &c.
177. n. (10) A *better translation* of these extracts from Eusebius has been substituted for Foxe's.
182. n. (1) Foxe (copying the Centuriators) erroneously calls this youth a soldier, &c.
183. n. (6) It has been attempted to correct the list, which is extremely corrupt as it stands in the Centuriators and in Foxe.

185. n. (1) Hæc Dionys. ex Euseb. ; whence some expressions in Foxe's text have been changed.
186. n. (4) Both Eusebius and Foxe are slightly inaccurate here, &c.
192. n. (3) This and the subsequent extracts from Cyprian's writings are given more accurately and fully than they appear in Foxe.
199. n. (4) Nearly the whole of the following account of Cyprian is from the Centuriators, Cent. iii. cap. 10, whence several corrections are made in the text.
205. n. (1) It does not appear, however, that he was *bishop* of Antioch (as Foxe asserts), either from the historians above-named, or from the catalogue of bishops of Antioch, given in 'L'Art de vérifier des Dates;' the Centuriators, however, assert it in one place and Foxe probably derived it thence. . . . Foxe twice mentions him again as 'bishop of Antioch' under the tenth persecution.
211. n. (5) In Cimele, a city in Italy under the Alps [This town, now in ruins, was near Nice, under the Alps certainly, but on the French side, &c.
212. n. (3) Heliopolis [Foxe by mistake says Hierapolis, &c.
223. n. (2) These passages are *translated* exactly from Eusebius's text.
224. n. (2) Vopiscus, vitâ Numeriani, whence Foxe's text has been a little altered.
225. n. (1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 2. whence several corrections have been made in the text, &c.
229. n. (3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 11. What Foxe adds about the bishops of Meletina is a misconception of Eusebius's meaning.
- n. (9) The following quotation from Basnage's 'Annales Politico-Eccles.' (ad an. 301. §. 4.) has corrected several mistakes in the text.
230. n. (4) Also in Samos [So say the Centuriators, without

naming the Chronicle : Foxe has altered Samos into 'Sammium.' The chronicles of Regino and Herman Contract both mention Sirmium, which perhaps misled the Centuriators.

230 n. (11) At Marseilles suffered Victor [Foxe (copying the Centuriators) says Victor suffered at Milan.

237. n. (1) Foxe has followed the Magdeburgh Centuriators, apparently (Cent. iv. c. 3. col. 23. Edit. 1624.); but the original is rather vague in its phraseology.

239. n. (2) The above is a *new translation*.

240. n. (2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 1. *a new translation*.

243. n. (1) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 7. whence the above translation is made.

— n. (6) The following list is somewhat corrected.

245. n. (2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 8. whence a few expressions in the text have been changed.

250. n. (4) Euseb. lib. x. c. 5. The following is a *new translation*.

253. n. (1) The following is a *new translation*.

260. n. (1) In the portions quoted from Prudentius in this narrative, Foxe has often altered the descriptive form into the direct. It is also much abridged.

263. n. (1) Ex Basil. in Sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem, [whence a few expressions are corrected.

268. n. (8) This story has been translated rather paraphrastically : there is nothing in the original answering to the second stanza.

— n. (11) There is nothing in the original answering to this.

269. n. (1) The same remark applies to this and the preceding line ; from line 70 to 76 and 96 and 97.

270. n. (3) Foxe's text has been corrected here.

276. n. (8) About eighty-five names of witnesses are given in Labbé, tom. i. col. 939 ; but in col. 940. 'seventy-two' is mentioned as the number Fox erroneously says 'forty-two.'

278. n. (3) The above translation has been revised from the copy in Labbé (*sic*) Conc. Gen. Tom. i. col. 948.
287. n. (5) See Theod. (*loc. citat.*) whence a few expressions are changed.
288. n. (3) Maxentius [Our author should rather have said Licinius &c.
289. n. (1) Six years [Our author assigns a less period, *sup.* pp. 250, 279, &c.
290. n. (1) Our author has scarcely expressed himself intelligibly in this place, &c.
293. n. (7) Eusebius, de Vit. Constant. Lib. ii. cap. 48—60. The following is a *new and more accurate translation* than Foxe's.
299. n. (1) The text has been somewhat corrected from Sozomen.
300. p. (3) Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. iv. cap. 36, whence Foxe's text has been corrected in two or three points.
301. n. (2) The following arguments against the Donation of Constantine are probably an abridgment of those given by Illyricus Flacius, 'Catalogus Testium, cura Goularti, Genevæ 1608.' cols. 284—290; whence several inaccuracies in Foxe's text have been detected and corrected.
303. n. (3) The above paragraph has been corrected in several particulars from Illyricus, &c.
309. n. (4) There are serious objections to the genuineness of this Epistle, &c:
- n. (5) There is an error here; the reader may consult the Appendix to this volume, &c.
311. n. (3) reckoneth his conversion to be in the year 187 [Rather he so dates Lucius's endowment of churches.
314. n. (2) Ex Polychron lib. v. cap. 4; whence a slight correction is made in Foxe's text.
- n. (3) Foxe having sometimes failed to make Kings synchronize as they should do, in the following table,

changes may have been tacitly made. I happened (I really know not why, if it was not because the document caught my eye in turning over the leaves, and the phraseology did not seem to be that of Fox) to compare one document, which bears no note, no hint of its having been altered in the slightest degree. A part of it will suffice, however, to shew, not only that a new translation has been given, but that it was very much wanted. In the edition of 1583 we find;—

“ The Epistle of Antoninus Pius to the Commons of Asia.

Emperour and Cæsar, Aurelius Antoninus, Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleven tymes, Consull thrise, vnto the Commons of Asia greeting. I am very certayne, that the Gods have a care of this, that they which be such, shall be knowen, and not lye hid. For they doe punish them, that will not worship them more then you : which so vexes and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have conceaved, and do conceave of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their ioy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they couet to dye for their God, then to lyue. Whereby they are Victorers, & doe overcome you, geuing rather their lyues, then to be obedient to you, in doying that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconuenient to aduertise you of the Earthquakes,” &c.—Edit. 1583. p. 41.

For this most barbarous and incorrect matter, the editors have substituted the following ;—

“ The Epistle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Asia.

Emperor and Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune fifteen times, consul thrice, to the common Council of Asia, greeting.

I am persuaded, that the gods will take care that persons such

as you describe these Christians to be shall not escape with impunity ; for they are much more concerned to punish those who refuse to worship them, than you are. But are they quite the characters you represent? You overwhelm them with trouble, and only confirm them in the opinions which they really do hold, when you charge them with being 'atheists:' and it seems infinitely preferable to them to die for their God, than to live under such an imputation. And here it may not be amiss for me to refer to the earthquakes," &c.—p. 126.

But if the editors do not like to tell us quite all, let us be thankful for what they do tell us. Taking merely the public acknowledgments which they seem to have thought necessary, I venture to ask, does such a string of notes—acknowledging that we know not how much odd matter has been (I doubt not very properly) disposed of by revisions, corrections, and new translations—afford a voucher for the accuracy and historical authority of the work in its original state? It is on record that silk hose have been dearned into worsted ; the converse process is I presume equally practicable ; and if these gentlemen will bestow the same trouble on the other seven volumes as on this half volume, the work may come to be something more like an historical authority than it has ever yet been ; but I shall be extremely surprised if they tell us that they came out of their present labour with quite such ideas of Fox as Mr. Townsend requires—that they “venerated his researches and learning” and would henceforth “always quote him on every point (but that to which their

controversial discussions may have led them) with respect and deference as an UNDOUBTED AUTHORITY."

Of that kind of knowledge which is necessary to enable a writer so to use authorities, as to become an authority himself, I have perhaps said enough to convince, though probably also enough to tire, the reader. I hope he will be more interested in an inquiry respecting the knowledge of another kind (I mean the knowledge of facts, more particularly those of his own period) displayed by Fox; and also respecting the degree of dependence which we may place on his veracity, and that of his informants. These are points of more intrinsic interest and importance, and quite as necessary to be discussed before we can form an opinion on the subject of historical authority.

Note A. on p. 7.

EXTRACT FROM THOMAS WALSINGHAM.

"Interea applicuerunt in Angliam Cardinales *rogatu regis* dominus Caucellinus domini Papæ vicecancellarius, & dominus Lucas de Flisco, nuncii domini Papæ Johannis vicesimi secundi, ut pacem inter regna Angliæ reformarent, & Scotiæ, & ut comitem Lancastriæ pacificarent regi, etiam attulerunt bullas Papales quibus Papa Scotos excommunicavit, eo quod descuissent à domino suo rege Angliæ, nisi redirent ad pacem ejus: qui prout moris est Romanorum in externas terras venientium, semetipsos ostentare volentes, contulerunt se sub omni festinatione in partes

boreales infausta hora, vt dominum Ludovicum de Bellomonte, cui dominus Papa ad regis instantiam Episcopatum contulerat Dunelmensem, electo ejusdem loci cassato, cum pompa Romana intronizarent, quamvis præmoniti fuissent, ut in comitatu Eboraci se continerent, & vltra progredi non presumerent nisi regia manu fulti. Cumque venissent prope villam de Derelington, subito de valle quadam erumpentes dicti grassatores (ducibus Gilberto de Midleton, & VValtero de Selby) inopinate irruerunt in familiam Cardinalium, & futuri Episcopi Dunelmensis: injectisque manibus sacrilegis de thesauro & equis suis (nulla habita ad tantas personas reuerentia) spoliarunt. Ludovicum vero Episcopum Dunelmensem, duxerunt ad villam de Morpath, ad redemptionem gravissimam compellentes. Captus est insuper a dictis populatoribus Henricus de Bellomonte, cum equis & thesauris plurimis, & ductus est ad castrum de Midforde, ubi detentus est donec magnam summam pecuniæ persolvisset. Cardinales vero restitutionem quarundam rerum habuerunt, puta de equis, vestimentis, & hujusmodi, *sed restitutione plenaria caruerunt*. Sine læsione tamen corporum, cum suis familiis Dunelmiam perueniunt, ubi per dies aliquot perhendinantes, & Scotorum arbitrium præstolantes, infecto negotio pro quo venerant, reversi sunt sub conductu regio Eboracum. Quo cum peruenissent, & viderent se positos in statione segura, tulerunt horribilem sententiam in malefactores Northumbriæ, & omnes eis quomodolibet adhærentes. Quam sententiam per totam Angliam publicari fecerunt: & mox Londonias redierunt, octo denarios de marca (pro damnis & expensis) a clero sibi dari cum instantia postulantes: non habentes respectum ad quatuor denarios sibi de marca prius concessos pro mora quam facturi fuerant in hac terra. Clerus vero tractatu habito respondit, quod contemptus & damna illis illata sibi imputare deberent, cum locum à clero limitatum sibi, ciuitatem videlicet Eboraci, auaritiæ agitati stimulo transgredi præsumperunt. Quamobrem octo denarios de marca dare clerus Anglicanus noluit, quatuor vero denarios quos prius concesserat dare, bene consensit.

Cardinales per idem tempus fecerunt pacem sub certis conditionibus inter regem & Thomam comitem, quas conditiones rex cito post fregit iniuste. Inde aucta est dissensio quæ prius extincta putabatur." p. 86.

Note B. on p. 13.

EXTRACT FROM MR. TOWNSEND'S PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

"We cannot be surprised that all, every one of the antagonists who assailed him, excepting those who live in this more liberal age, venerated his researches and his learning, and always quote him on every point (but that to which their controversial discussions may have led them) with respect and deference as an undoubted authority. Foxe printed from the records in the Tower the charters of king William. He confirms his statements from the registers of Hereford. He analyses the manuscript account of the miracles of Becket. He refers to the manuscript account of the pacification between pope Alexander and the emperor Frederic, and to letters printed from the Tower. The French chronicle of Thomas Grey is cited (in the same page with the letter of king John to the pope from the Tower rolls); and one copy only of this manuscript now remains in the library of Christ Church college in Cambridge. It was not printed till the year 1838. The eulogium of the monk of Canterbury, quoted by Foxe in the same page, is not yet printed. All these, as well as the extracts from the episcopal registers, might not have been printed to illustrate the truth of our common histories, to this very day, if John Foxe had not collected or transcribed them for the general use.

The history of the rise and progress of the Reformation is more fully and clearly illustrated by the labours of John Foxe, from the most unexceptionable contemporary authorities, than by any other writer on that ever-interesting subject. He has collected and printed numerous original documents from the registers of the bishop of London; from those of the bishop of Lincoln; from

those of the archbishop of Canterbury, and, what are more valuable still, from the registers of the archbishop of St. Andrew's. No one episcopal register of that period is to be found in all Scotland; so complete has been the devastation of such records in that part of the empire. When Foxe wrote, that devastation had not destroyed the registers. Foxe refers to them. "We express here," he says, "the articles against Hamilton, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers." Very curious are some of the documents which Foxe has thus collected. Among the most so, are the letter of thanks from Louvaine to Scotland, Hamilton's treatise on Justifying Faith, Sir Ralph Sadler's Oration to the king of Scotland on the Papal Supremacy, Articles against Borthwick and others. Many other records of the same date are cited by Foxe alone, which are essential to every student of history, and which assist in making his work what our fathers esteemed it to be—the completest ecclesiastical-historical library we possess. Among these may be enumerated the conferences between the cardinal and the almoner of queen Catharine; the oaths of Gardiner, Stokesley, Lee, Tunstal, &c. renouncing the papal supremacy. These are printed from the originals, and were probably taken from the proceedings of the convocation, which are now lost. Foxe prints, too, many letters of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, which would have been otherwise lost. He has omitted many on account of the size of his book, which can now never be recovered.

This brings us down to his own times. Much of the history of that period was founded upon written contemporary authority. The story of the three men, *King*, *Debenham*, and *Marsh*, who were hanged for burning the rood at Dover Court, was taken from the letters of a living witness, who might therefore be referred to when Foxe's book was published. Tindal's letters to Frith; Bonner's letters to Cromwell; the characteristic conference between Brusierd and Bilney on image worship; the highly important document from Bonner's own handwriting against Gardiner, and the letters of Lambert, were all in the possession of Foxe, and all

were printed from the originals. The story of Garret, of Barber, of Brown, were all printed from the affecting narratives of eye-witnesses. In the paper respecting priests' marriages from Parker, he cites very many old charters from their originals; which demonstrate that the marriages of priests were allowed by the ancient laws of the kingdom. Foxe is no less to be considered still useful also to the reader of history, for the information he has given to us from original sources, of the foreign affairs of the kingdom. His information from Oecolampadius, and from Spain, appears to have been from manuscripts. He communicated also with Calais before it was lost to England; and collected from thence many interesting narratives. In these memoranda I notice only those documents respecting which Foxe himself has given us any details; and as he generally quotes his documents without informing us of the particular sources from whence they are derived, they form but a very small portion of the invaluable and original matter, which is scattered through his laborious pages. *Burnet, Strype, and all our best historians*, have derived their *principal information and documents* from John Foxe; and *many hundred letters*, all derived from authentic sources, and only now to be found there, illustrate the period of which he writes; and prove his work to be indispensable to every one who desires both genuine and accurate knowledge of the painful subjects of his history. Raw-head and bloody-bone stories, are supposed to be the subjects of his Acts and Monuments, by the thoughtless and ignorant alone. Those who have studied his pages, will never dispense with his book.

As this statement may appear strange to many, in spite of all I have said, I will still confirm my opinion of the value of John Foxe, by referring to other original and most valuable documents, which are indispensable to the right understanding of the times in which he lived; and to the general illustration of English history. The record of the proceedings of the convocations in England, for instance, were destroyed in the fire of London, 1666. Foxe gives us extracts from them, of the utmost utility. The speech of

Queen Mary, at Guildhall, was taken down by one who heard it, and given to Foxe. The documents connected with the history of lady Jane Grey, are original. The curious oration of Bonner to the convocation, on the dignity of the priesthood, was reported to Foxe by a hearer. Ridley's manuscript account of his discussion with Feckenham; the documents exhibited by Cranmer on his examination; the papers prepared by Ridley for his defence; Ridley's own account of his treatment; were all committed to Foxe, and used by him in the compilation of his work. So also the account of Bonner's actually striking, in his passion, a gentleman of rank, with other extravagances of anger, were testified to Foxe, by those who were present. The oration of cardinal Pole, the proceedings of the council, and the submission of England to the pope, on the absolution of the lords and commons on their knees before the cardinal, are most graphically related by Foxe; who gives us also the autograph letter of Philip to the pope, with the letter of the cardinal. The sermon on the following Sunday at Paul's Cross, by Gardiner, is also given from manuscript notes, "as they came to my hands," says Foxe, "faithfully gathered." Those who speak slightly of the "*veracity and fidelity*" of John Foxe cannot have studied these things. They cannot have read his constant references to original documents, and his no less constant appeal to the contemporary testimonies, by which, or by whom, the truth of his narratives was confirmed. Accumulative proofs of his "veracity and faithfulness" of this nature, will not be valued by some. Others will demand still more proofs of his diligence, and anxiety to give relations of the events which took place in the reign of Mary; and on their account I will still continue my observations.

The accounts then of the examinations of some of the prisoners, drawn up by themselves, "left in writing, to remain for a perpetual testimony, in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth, recorded and testified, by his own writing." The memoranda respecting bishop Hooper, who was "spare of his diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time," are given to Foxe by those who knew

him. The original of Ridley's letter to Hooper, the originals of Hooper's examinations, and of Hooper's letters, with the manuscript letters of Taylor, Philpotts, Cranmer, and Careless, were all in Foxe's possession. Other proceedings against the supposed heretics were copied from the registers. The public records also are cited. The letters of Ferrar, of Bradford, of Ridley, and of Latimer, were collected by Foxe. The examination of George Marsh, who read the English Litany every morning with his friends on his knees, the process against Bland, the final examinations of Ridley and Latimer, were all communicated to the martyrologist, who anxiously endeavoured to collect original and authentic documents from all quarters. He proves his extreme candour, in his estimation of the value of these documents, by the manner in which he speaks of the account given of Cranmer by his friend Dr. Martin. "Such as that report is," says Foxe, "I thought good to let the reader understand, that he may use therein his own judgment and consideration." His frequent appeals to eye-witnesses of the things he relates, the manner in which the declarations he received from the persecuted of their examinations and sufferings, are affirmed by him, not to be credited for their words only, even though in one remarkable case the narrative of their sorrows was written with their own blood, and not with ink. All these things prove to us that Foxe is worthy of our confidence, and that his "*veracity and fidelity*" cannot be assailed with either truth or honour. Disgrace has followed every attempt to destroy its value. *If Foxe's Acts and Monuments had not been written*, and this is the best criterion of its merits, *no book in the English language can be mentioned, which could supply its place.* Whoever will but impartially and candidly consider the mass of the materials collected, and remember that this work was the first attempt to give to the common reader a history of the church of Christ, as well as a narrative of the evil consequences of the one false principle, that the soul of the Christian is to be governed by authority that is fallible, on the supposition that such authority is infallible, unchangeable and divine,—must, I think, acknowledge,

that the work of John Foxe is one of the most useful, most important, and most valuable books we still possess. It has never been superseded. Its loss could not have been supplied. He will also, I think, confess that our ancestors were justified in their admiration of the volumes of Foxe; and that we can name no other work, on the subjects treated upon by John Foxe, which so certainly deserved their favour, and which still continues to deserve the approbation of their sons. To appeal to the decisions of our fathers,—to speak to the present age of the “wisdom of our ancestors,” I well know to be, among many, the undoubted criterion of narrowness of intellect. The very expression—“the wisdom of our ancestors,” is ranked by Jeremy Bentham, among the fallacies which prevent the free exercise of our judgment, in matters both of political or religious inquiry. I cannot say how this may be. I am too unlearned to fathom the wisdom of our ancestors; but I am sure that their folly in abhorring and dis-favouring papistry, was much less than the folly of their sons, who, in spite of the experience of the past, are once more employed in reviving its power, in encouraging its usurpations, and pretensions; and in depreciating and deriding the value and estimation, the “*veracity and fidelity*,” of the martyrologist, John Foxe.”—*Preliminary Dissertation*, p. 471.

Note C. p. 14.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF STRYPE.

It is so seldom that history is written without prejudice, and some purpose beyond the mere record of truth, that we must always be on our guard lest it should turn out that the authorities which historians use are over or under-rated by them. If we feel sufficient interest in any part of history to attempt its investigation, it is impossible that we should not wish to discover one thing rather than another. We must, when we find contradictions, incline as a matter of feeling (if it be merely a bare sense of comparative probability) to one side or the other, and it will be hard to avoid giving undue importance to the authority who says just

what we wish him to say. One of the fallacies by which we are liable to deceive ourselves and others in this matter, is, if I may so speak, the transferring of a man's merits from one point to another. If a writer has in some way obtained a name, that name has a certain weight and is in some degree like steam-power, applicable to any purpose. Write with what care and learning you may to prove that the Chinese criminal code is harsh or merciful, you will not persuade so many persons as if you state roundly that your opinion is maintained by Hume and Robertson, and that Smollett, in the main, agrees with them. Mr. Townsend has however furnished one of the best illustrations that could be given in the following passage ;—

“ Strype, the most patient collector of similar papers, and the most competent witness to form a judgment on the merits or demerits, of the results of the labours of the martyrologist, speaks, as we shall see, not only of the infinite pains of Foxe in searching registries and seeking documents ; but Strype assures us, that Foxe left them as he found them ; and had not destroyed them, as his antagonist Parsons dared to presume to affirm that he had done.”—*Life of Fox*, p. 28.

Now who does not immediately see the fallacy of this ? We have reason to be thankful that Strype was a “ most patient collector ; ” but surely he would have been a more “ competent witness ” about the Martyrology, if instead of being a great collector himself he had spent his time in examining what had been collected and printed by Fox. But as to the *fact* ; let us see what is Strype's authority as to this very Martyrology. Suppose we go to him, as the “ most competent witness,” to seek for some account of the most important fact in Fox's life, and in the whole history of his writings—the first publication of the Martyrology in England. We shall find that he speaks of it in four different places, from which I will give extracts, prefixing to each the date of its original publication, and inserting a few words of comment in brackets.

No. 1. (1694), “ While he was here, [*at Basil*] employed by Oporinus, at spare hours he began his history of the Acts of the Church in Latin ; [*he had actually published an edition at Stras-*

burgh before he went to Basil] which he drew out more briefly at first; and before his return home into England, well near finished. [*He did not return to England, but staid abroad on purpose, till it was printed.*] Having here completed the copy, which was but the first part of what he intended, but making a just volume in folio, he sent the work to Basil to be printed: [*as I have said, he staid there while it was printed*] and so it was in the year 155—. [*read 1559*]. It remained many years after in those parts in great request, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all in our own. Being now in peace and safety at home, Fox reviewed this his work and in the year 1566, [*read 1563*] first published it in English very voluminous, because of those many relations of the persecutions in Queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himself [*translations?*] without the help of an amanuensis, nor had he any servant to do his necessary domestic business; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occasions from his work. He afterwards enlarged these his labours into three large volumes, [*never more than two*] which have since undergone many editions." *Life of Cranmer*. Vol. II. p. 575. Oxford reprint of 1840 *.

No. 2. (1709) "About this year [*he is speaking of 1561*] did the laborious John Fox set forth the first edition in English of his great book of Acts and monuments, in one thick volume." *Ann*. Vol. I. P. i. p. 374 †.

* It is obvious that Strype was led into this tissue of misstatement by following the same legendary memoir of Fox by which Mr. Townsend was so grossly misled; of which see Part I. of these Notes.

† I need hardly say that there is not in the Oxford Edition of Strype any note or hint of error annexed to either of the passages which I quote. As to this particular case, however, if the reader of Vol. I. Part i. perseveres through that volume, and five more, he will, just before he gets through the sixth (Vol. IV. p. 601) find more than twenty pages of notes, by Mr. Baker, of St. John's, Cambridge, correcting and illustrating what he has been reading without any thing to create suspicion that it wanted correction at all; and among those notes he will find one correcting this error. Surely it would have been worth while to annex these notes to the several passages to which they relate.

No. 3. (1728) "Infinite was the pains he took in compiling thereof and in searching of registers and the enlargements in the several editions in his life-time. The first was published by him in Latin, and printed, I think, at Basil (where he lived) one of the cantons of Switzerland. The next edition which was set forth in English, the history commencing about 500 years before, was printed in London in the year 1562" [*read as before, 1563.*] *Ann.* Vol. III. P. i. p. 735.

No. 4. (1733). "Upon the first edition of Fox's book which I think was about 1565 or 1566." *Mem.* Vol. III. P. i. p. 577.

If we want to make it out that Strype was a writer of singular care and accuracy, I know not what we are to say to this; but, if we only desire truth, I do not see why we may not tell it, and I think Strype's character and services will quite bear it. Perhaps it has been told somewhat harshly (but I know not how to say unfairly) by Thomas Hearne, who certainly was a more "competent witness" as to Strype's labours, than Strype was as to Fox's, "Mr. Strype hath a large collection of MSS. papers, and he is an industrious man. But then, as I take it, he wants both learning and judgment, and does not know how to make a true and right use of his papers. The things he hath published are voluminous, and written in a creeping style. Had they been managed by a judicious man they would have been brought into a less compass, and been adorned with better and more pertinent observations*." But if we think this rather severe, may we not say that these passages were written at intervals during thirty-nine years; and that it is not wonderful if in so long a time, and in the publication of such a vast mass of matter as Strype printed during that time, he fell into some contradictions, and that the very nature of his works leading him to recur frequently to the same facts, it was likely that he should sometimes state, on a second or third occasion, what was more correct, without cancelling, or perhaps recollecting that he had before said,

* Letter to Mr. Anstis, No. CV. of Letters written by eminent persons from the Bodleian, &c. Vol. I. p. 291.

what was erroneous. At the same time the reader will perceive that the extracts which I have quoted do not become more correct as they proceed; and I think that they would be sufficient of themselves to give him an impression that the writer from whom they are taken was not a very accurate man, or peculiarly qualified to vouch for the accuracy of other people.

Such was undoubtedly and obviously the fact; and I feel that it is no injustice, I might say no reproach, to Strype to state it; for I believe that all men have their own natures and vocations. He worked in his own way, and all the world could not have altered it. I can heartily concur with Bishop Burnet in calling him "the sincere and diligent Mr. Strype," but it is quite obvious that he was not a man of much critical investigation. Every one who has any knowledge of his works, and of literary history, must see at once that he belonged to a different class—a class well defined and well known, and one to which literature is almost, if not quite, as much indebted as it is to men of genius. I mean the class of writers who have made it their business to collect, preserve and publish (with whatever imperfection) original documents—the men who have kept in, or restored to, public knowledge, the records of truth. Mr. Townsend's phrase is as felicitous as Bishop Burnet's. Strype was a "most patient collector of papers;" and in the course of a long life he collected a vast treasure. But if we would have the full benefit of the rich cargoes brought in by patient collectors, they must be carefully unladen, examined, weighed, and sorted. Or perhaps we might better liken such collectors as Martene, Pez, Leibnitz, Baluze, Labbe, D'Achery, &c.; to men who have made incursions into the vast territory of oblivion, and brought back waggon-loads of spoil—who would have earned their laurels even if it should turn out that some things which glittered were not gold, and who might well feel themselves injuriously treated if we should reproach them with not having staid to examine and appraise each article before they determined to bring it away. That is afterwork; but work which has never been done for Strype. His

loads remain precisely as he pitched them down ; and anybody who likes may pick them over, and make the best of them. He wants what Wood has found in Dr. Bliss.

I am not desirous to detract from the well-earned reputation of Strype. There is no writer of his class to which the Church of England is so deeply indebted, and a blessed thing it would have been for that church, if for these thirty years past every man admitted to holy orders had been well acquainted with Strype's works. We should have been spared much of the miserable and poisonous ignorance which has, on different sides, too frequently mis-represented the persons and things connected with the Reformation. But all this does not make Strype the "most competent witness to form a judgment on the merits or demerits of the results of the labours of the martyrologist."

Since the whole of the above matter was in the printer's hands, an incident has occurred so much to our purpose, that I cannot help adding some notice of it in the proof. A gentleman at Oxford, who had observed that the account given by Mr. Perceval of the consecration of a certain bishop, differed from that given by Strype, wrote to request that I would refer to Archbishop Cranmer's Register, and see which was right. Strype's account of the matter is this ;—

" John Chambré, B.D., was consecrated first bishop of Peterburgh, in the Cathedral Church of Peterburgh, in the presbytery there, by John Bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Bishop of Ely, and William Bishop of Norwich, by commission from the Archbishop."—*Life of Cranmer*, Vol. I. p. 135.

Now so far as concerns the consecrating bishops, two-thirds of this is untrue. Neither the Bishop of Lincoln nor the Bishop of Norwich took part in the consecration ; and Mr. Perceval is right in giving the names of two other bishops as acting with the Bishop of Ely. It is easy to see how a hasty person might be led into the error, and how Strype was in fact misled. The archbishop granted a commission to the three prelates whom Strype names, and that commission is (as he would have said) "exemplified" in the Register. It is true also that at the beginning of the

"Acta Consecrationis," (whence I presume Strype took his account) those three are mentioned as commissioners by way of recital. But if (without saying anything of "infinite pains" in "searching registers") Strype had had the patience and prudence to look through a document of less than a single page, he would have seen that the Bishop of Ely was the only one of the commissioners who acted, assisted by two other bishops who were not named in the commission.

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REMARKS

ON THE

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DEFENCE OF HIS EDITION

OF

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BY THE
Samuel Maitland
REV. S. R. MAITLAND, ,

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LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1842.

LONDON :
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

R E M A R K S,

&c.

IN "The Defence of this edition by the Editor," contained in the first volume of Fox's Martyrology, just published by Messrs. Seeley and Burnside, Mr. Cattley says:—

"In November, 1837, Mr. Maitland had expended all his observations upon Foxe, preparing the public for a renewal of them at some future time. When this is to appear, the Editor does not know; but, in the mean time, he thanks his critical reviewer for the many hints that he has already given him, and he contemplates with pleasure the appearance of Mr. Maitland's future labours, which will supply admirable additions to the appendices to these volumes. But should these labours not appear as yet, the Editor's care will be to make this edition perfect in its kind, worthy of the age in which it is published, and of the illustrious patronage under which it appears."—p. 495.

The "Six more Letters," which I have since reprinted from the "British Magazine," will show that I had not expended all my observations in Novem-

ber, 1837. The series went on quite regularly, except that (whether for my convenience or the editor's I am not sure) the letter which should have appeared in May was postponed until June 1838. I believe, however, that Mr. Cattley's statement, as well as the omission of all reference to that part of the series of letters which was published after the time which he mentions by Mr. Townsend, is only another manifestation of the ignorance and carelessness which characterize their proceedings. Whether Mr. Cattley's thanks and pleasant anticipations are sincere or ironical, I will furnish him with notices of some things which I have observed since my Letters were published, and in them he may probably find matter for his Appendix; but I must first offer a few remarks on some other things in his Defence.

First, let it be observed, that of all the statements made in my Letters, Mr. Cattley has not challenged one. I do not say that he might not have done it, or that he will not do it; but merely that he has not done it. As to the reasons for this, and for the postponement of all notice of the heaps of errors contained in the former volumes, people will form their own opinions. I do not, however, notice the matter so much to complain of what has not been done, as to draw attention to the pledge respecting *what is to be done*. With distinct reference to at least the whole of my first Six Letters, Mr. Cattley says, "The indexes, the appendices, and the cancel leaves, will reply

to *all this*¹." No doubt the cancel leaves, which the publishers calculate at "between 200 and 300," (a calculation by the way made under the very erroneous assumption that "in the last four or five volumes not only has Foxe been *printed faithfully*, but most of *his* errors *corrected*,") will reply to a good deal in a way not very pleasant to the subscribers, who have first to pay for them, and then for having them inserted into their books. I presume, that the publication of a book requiring such correction is a novelty in the annals of literature. We must, however, keep in mind this pledge, as well as that given long since by the publishers, "Lists of the errata, which have been detected, will *of course* be given²." Such a supplement as will thus be made will indeed render the work what the Editor quaintly, but with remarkable propriety, calls "*perfect in its kind*;" and will, I trust, go far to vindicate what in the mean time he amuses himself, and tries to keep his subscribers quiet, by describing as cavils and aspersions.

Secondly, though Mr. Cattley does not choose to specify or dispute any one point mentioned in my Letter, yet he thinks it right to show, that in some one thing that I have said relating to Fox I am

¹ P. 493.

² Letter of Messrs. Seeley and Burnside in Brit. Mag. for Oct. 1837. See Six Letters, p. 61.

ignorant and mistaken ; and thinking that he has found what suits his purpose in my "Review of Fox's Account of the Waldenses," he says :—

"Mr. Maitland commenced his attack upon Foxe and his authorities, in a review of Foxe's history of the Waldenses in the Acts and Monuments ; which review was published in 1837. As the Editor is not defending the Waldenses, but vindicating Foxe in his new edition but old costume, it is not his intention to enter upon the general question, but to confine himself rather to more concise and less lengthy matter. He is willing to allow Mr. Maitland the palm to which he is justly entitled, as being an acute scholar and an able and sarcastic critic. But Mr. Maitland overreaches himself. In the above review *, he gives Foxe's account of one Arnulph, in the time of pope Honorius II †. He calls it 'a fine story,' and refers to a 'plain tale' which Mr. Maitland takes from Trithemius. He calls this latter a 'poor foundation' for Foxe's story, and charges him with quoting Trithemius, while in reality he is translating a book of Illyricus, whose name, as an historian, he was backward to acknowledge. But, was the Editor of this edition to write critical notes upon every extract from the history of the church contained in divers ancient and divers different writers, all embodied in Foxe's work ? As well might the Editor suppose that Mr. Maitland was conversant with every author, and every edition of every author, extant in Foxe's time. Mr. Maitland, with all his erudition, has entrapped himself in his own snare ; *he* is not conversant, nor can the best scholar be supposed to be conversant, with every edition of every author ; and before he brings such charges as those which are heaped upon Foxe, his authorities, and his Editor, the latter would tell Mr. Maitland that the 'fine story' at which he sneers, and the 'poor foundation' which he expects he has crumbled beneath his literary tread,—yes, that this whole story which Foxe

* P. 46.

† P. 182. vol. i. Foxe's new edition.

is charged with having unwarrantably amplified, is found, almost word for word, as Foxe and his Editor have perpetuated it, in 'Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles*,' by whom it was also extracted from the 'Chronicon' of Trithemius †." Vol. I. p. 491.

" * Tom. i. pp. 805, 806. edit. 1671.

" † It appears from Fabricius, (*Biblioth. Mediæ et Inf. Latinitat.* tom. iv.) who has devoted rather a larger space than usual to the account of Trithemius, that there were two editions—the second much enlarged—of the 'Annales Hirsaugienses,' and it is not probable that both Flaccus (*sic*) and Wolfius would derive their information from a fabricated source. There was no necessity for invention; materials were abundant both to them and for Foxe. We may add another testimony upon this Arnulphus of Brescia. 'Pro quâ doctrinâ non solum ab ecclesiâ Dei anathematis mucrone separatus, insuper etiam suspendio neci traditus. Quin et post mortem incendio crematus, atque in Tybrim fluvium projectus est.' 'Gerhohus Reicherspergensis,' anno 1155, lib. i. etc. 'Investigatione Antichristi,' quoted in 'Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, studio C. du Plessis d'Argentre,' (Lutet. Paris. 1724,) tom. i. p. 27. Foxe, it may be added, lays no stress upon his being archbishop of Lyons, or not; he merely mentions what some others had asserted,—it seems incorrectly,—and there leaves it, and no 'fuss' need have been made about such a casual statement on his part, as has been. More evidence may be seen in d'Argentre's 'Collectio.'

Now, in the first place, what has this to do in a defence of the new edition? Are the charges against the Editor himself so unanswerable that he is obliged to intrude upon his kinsman's province, and vindicate Fox from the charge of borrowing authorities? The only thing that might have been expected from the Editor in this matter, was some apology for repeatedly mis-spelling the name of Trithemius, of whom he had probably never heard, and whom he always called Trithimius. But of this he says nothing.

However, here is Mr. Cattley's charge, and I am happy to think that it may be answered, not only without much trouble or discussion, but in a way perfectly intelligible to every reader. It is Mr. Cattley who has overreached himself by talking about editions of authors whom he never knew in any edition, or, what is more probable, who has been overreached (quite innocently, and with kind intention,) by somebody who knew a little, and very little, more than himself. If he, or his Mentor, had understood Fabricius, or understood the matter at all, he would have seen that I was acquainted with, and was actually quoting from, what he calls the "much enlarged" edition; for to what else could my reference, "*An.* 1128, *Tom.* I. p. 389," apply, but to what Fabricius calls the "*annales integri*," as they stand in the *St. Gal* edition of 1690? It is amazing to see with what assurance the bolts of ignorance are shot. Mr. Townsend issues forth at once a broad contradiction, and sets me before his readers as an ignorant blunderer, telling them Fox could not copy from Illyricus, because he published this account of the Waldenses before Illyricus published his book, and that it is more likely that Illyricus copied from Fox. It is true that he afterwards gets some idea that the blunder is his own, and endeavours, more than fifty pages after, to correct it by another, at the same time quietly withdrawing the specific blunder on which he had grounded his con-

tradiction and his argument, and saying as little as possible about them ¹.

But, says Mr. Cattley, the story about Arnulphus is in "Wolfii Lectiones." I dare say it is. What silly story is not in that absurd farrago? Mr. Cattley will sadly overreach himself if he takes it for granted that every book with a Latin title, of which he has never heard before, contains unmixed truth. To be sure it is in Wolfii Lectiones, and so is the story of the French pig with a man's face, who had something the advantage of Arnulphus in point of time, and is still more honoured by Wolfius, who has favoured us with his portrait. Of course the story of Arnulphus is in Wolfius; and that ingenious writer also blunders him with Arnold of Brescia; and has, I suppose, led Mr. Cattley's informant to do the same, and to write nonsense about D'Argentré and Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, which requires no notice; being altogether irrelevant.

The reader will bear in mind that this question, whether Fox really copied from the books to which he refers, or took his references at second hand, is one with which Mr. Cattley is not particularly concerned. No charge was made against him, or his edition, on that point. That any person of moderate information can doubt that Fox was copying from Illyricus, I cannot believe; and in support of

¹ See note A.

that opinion I mentioned another instance, where Fox gives "the Sentence of the Council of Brixia against Pope Hildebrand," actually including a few words of Illyricus, which he had interpolated, but confined in a parenthesis. This passage was adduced as showing that Fox, who gave us the words, parenthesis and all, was copying from Illyricus; and it was also noticed by the way, that in the new edition the parenthesis had been removed, and so the words which had been contained in it had been merged in the text, in such a way as to seem as if they formed a part of the original document. This, of course, looks as absurd as it would to find in the midst of a version of some proclamation by a middle-age king of France, "and, further, forasmuch as an evil custom hath of a long season obtained in our good city of Paris, and in divers other cities, towns, and castles within our realms, as Mr. Hallam justly observes in his Middle Ages, whereby our good citizens of our said city, and other our subjects, are greatly annoyed," &c.

It is to this that Mr. Cattley refers in what immediately follows the passage just quoted from his defence; and it is worth while to give this continuation of his remarks, because it lets us a little into his notions of right and wrong. I cannot but think that it savours of lax morality, to say that a man may appropriate matter and crib references without acknowledgment, *provided* it turns out that the man

from whom he cribs them was an honest man, and took them faithfully. If the passage is really in Abbas Urspergensis, Fox was not called on to say that he only knew it in Illyricus. One likes to know the principles of those with whom one is dealing, and here are Mr. Cattley's words :—

“ But in the same review *, Mr. Maitland again charges Foxe with suppressing the name of Illyricus †. Foxe had no need to mention Illyricus here, any more than he had in the case just cited when he quoted Trithemius ; for, excepting the parenthesis, ‘ for he took away the marriage of priests,’ which has given Mr. Maitland so much offence because of its inadvertent removal, or rather of its being merged into the text, in this new edition, the whole passage which is derived professedly from the ‘ Chronicon Abbatis Urspergensis,’ will be found there ‡. Now when the tartness of Mr. Maitland's remarks is coupled with the evident partiality of his statements,—not to say the unfairness, and, in some instances, the incorrectness of his criticisms,—the reader will be better prepared to judge of the merits of the case, and to allow a due proportion of praise to the acuteness of the reviewer, and another due portion also to the editor of Foxe, for his labour and travail.”—Vol. I. p. 492.

“ * Page 51. “ † Vol. I. p. 133. “ ‡ Page 127, edit. Argent. 1537.”

I have no idea what proportion of praise Mr. Cattley would claim for his labour and travail, in removing the parenthesis, but I do not wish to deprive him of what is due ¹.

Thirdly, Mr. Cattley says some things respecting the new edition, which require notice.

¹ See Note B.

“The plan of proceeding adopted by the Editor was to collate together the original Latin edition of Foxe’s history, and the five authentic English editions. No time for delay or for verification of facts and authors was allowed,—none indeed seemed necessary in that which was professedly to be a mere *reprint* of an ancient book. When the work was announced, many gentlemen kindly offered their assistance in the prosecution of it, which was declined. The reason was, that if the mere *reprint* had been adhered to, such aid was unnecessary. The new edition would have been retarded in its progress had many editors been employed, and the same tedious delay would have attended the publication of each of the early volumes as has attended the one just produced. But had the Editor, when his second and third volumes first appeared, been aware that any of the public would have exclaimed—‘True, we subscribed to a reprint of Foxe, but upon perusing this portion now before us, we think we should have preferred a corrected edition, an edition illustrated with numerous notes, explanatory and critical,’—the Editor would indeed have been glad to have secured the aid which was kindly offered him.”—p. 484.

The falsehood of this statement is obvious, and its effrontery quite startling. *The book never was a mere reprint*; nor will Mr. Cattley persuade those subscribers who have the opportunity of comparing their copies with any old edition, *that it was ever meant to be one*—at least, if that ever was intended, the idea must have been abandoned before a single page of the new edition was published; and therefore, of course, before “any of the public” had exclaimed anything. The first published volume shows that the editor *meant to give, and thought he was giving*, a “corrected edition” with “numerous notes;” and so

far as I know of any public exclamation concerning him, it was chiefly against his "corrections" and his "notes," by which too often the text was anything but corrected and illustrated.

Mr. Cattley tells us that,

"The pledge given to the publishers and to the public was, that *no typographical alteration* should be made in the matter or *style* of Foxe, but that he should appear *precisely* in his own shape, however rude, and in his *own words*, however characteristic of the age in which he lived; that *no roughness should be smoothed down*, and *no names altered*; and it was not till *long after* the Editor had lost his patience, and feared that he should lose his credit, that he was constrained to emancipate himself, in some degree, from the trammels in which his own admiration of Foxe, and that of others, had unhappily chained him."—p. 486.

How long Mr. Cattley's patience might last in a business which his unfitness for it must have rendered very irksome, I cannot tell; but certainly any such pledge as he specifies must have been speedily broken¹. From this *very beginning* "typographical

¹ The publishers, in the notice prefixed to the volume just published, tell us, that "Between their resolving on the publication, and the actual commencement of the printing, very few weeks elapsed. *The only* thing then aimed at, was, to give Foxe's History, *as correctly as possible, in the state in which he left it*. On the appearance, however, of Volumes II. and III., *printed on this system*, an attack was made upon them," &c. So that, if we may believe the publishers, Mr. Cattley's patience endured through two volumes. It is not, however, my intention to make the parties in this business responsible for the statements of each other. The reader may have observed the "ex-

alterations" were made with the utmost freedom; Fox's words, characteristic of the age in which he lived, were changed without the least notice, notes were numerous, and names were altered in abundance. Take the very first sentence printed by Mr. Cattley as it stands in the edition of 1583:—

"Now remayneth likewise as before I did in describing, the discent and diuersitie of the seuen kings altogether raining and ruling in this land, so to prosecute in like order the lineal succession of *them*, *which* after Egbert King of Westsaxonnes, gouerned and ruled *soly*, untill the conquest of William the Normand: first expressing their names and afterward *importing* such acts as in their tyme happened in the church worthy to be noted."—p. 135.

Now let us see how this passage stands in the new edition, where it is, as I have said, the very first sentence of the work that Mr. Cattley printed:—

"Now remaineth *for me to do* as before I did in describing

treme hurry of printing," for instance, of which Mr. Cattley talks, p. 485, his announcement prefixed to the first published volume that "*some months* must necessarily elapse before the publication of the *first* volume, containing the Prefaces, Indexes," &c., the italic emphasis which the publishers give to the desire of "*immediate publication*" in their Notice to which I have just referred, and their "hope" expressed in their Prospectus that the volumes would be delivered to the subscribers "one every second month"—but how is this to be reconciled with Mr. Townsend's statement; "I was informed that *three years* would probably elapse before the preface would be required?" Letter to ——— Esquire, p. 2. That is, before the publishers would even want the manuscript from the author.

the descent and diversity of the seven Kings, *together* reigning and ruling in this land *namely*, to prosecute in like order the lineal succession of *those, who*, after Egbert, king of *the* West Saxons, governed and ruled *alone*, until the conquest of William the Norman; first expressing their names, and afterwards *recording* such acts, as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted."

This may be "corrected;" it may or may not be a great improvement on what Fox wrote; I am not criticising it: but if this is to be called a "mere reprint," I know not what those words mean. I have no idea that the sentence which I have quoted is more tampered with, and altered, than any other that one might light upon in carelessly opening the book. I believe, that this sort of wanton ignorant tampering with the text began with the very beginning of the work, and has been carried through it; and that by indulging in this taste for what he thought correction, the editor has often changed the meaning of passages which he did not understand. Of this I have given abundant proof in my Letters, and further evidence will be found in these pages. I do not believe that Mr. Cattley can produce from his first published volume, *one single page* of Fox's writing of which it can be said, without palpable falsehood, that "no typographical alteration" has been made in the "matter or style of Fox."

Again, what he says of a pledge that Fox "should appear precisely in his own shape, however rude, and in his *own words*, however characteristic of the age in which he lived," is manifestly untrue. He had

said something like it in the notice prefixed to the second (the first published) volume—"a few coarse expressions of a less cultivated age are either omitted or remodelled; but" [he adds in *italics*] "*these are carefully distinguished* by the insertion of the mark† in the margin." But this is not true. Such expressions had been changed without the slightest hint of alteration before the editor had reprinted three pages of the edition of 1583. For instance, the text in that edition reads;—

"And here next now followeth and commeth in, the whore of Babylon (rightly in her true colours by the permission of God, and manifestly without all tergiversation) to appeare to the whole world: and that not onely after the spiritual sense, but after the very letter, and the right form *of an whore indeed*. For after this Leo above-mentioned, the Cardinals proceeding to their ordinary election (after a solemne Masse of the Holy Ghost, to the perpetual shame of them and of that sea) instead of a man pope, elected a *whore* in deed to minister sacraments, to say masses, to geue orders By Benedictus the iii. who succeeded next in the *whorish* sea, was first ordained," &c. —p. 137.

In the new edition it stands thus;—

"And here next now followeth and cometh in the whore of Babylon [Rev. xix. 2.] (rightly, in her true colours, by the permission of God, and manifestly without all tergiversation) to appear to the whole world: and that not only after the spiritual sense, but after the very letter, and the right form. For after this Leo above-mentioned, the cardinals, proceeding to their ordinary election (after a solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, to the perpetual shame of them and of that see), instead of a man pope elected a *woman* to minister sacraments, to say masses, to give

orders, By Benedict III. who succeeded next in the Romish see, was first ordained," &c.—p. 10.

And as to notes—does Mr. Cattley mean to say that the *first published* volume does not contain at least an hundred and fifty, signed "ED."?

As to names too—it was certainly a strange "pledge given to the publishers, and to the public"—it was a strange thing for the editor of a "mere reprint" to bind himself that there should be "no names altered." What could have put it into his head to enter into such an engagement? Whatever it might be, Mr. Cattley knows full well how soon, and how frequently it was broken; and what he can mean by representing that a clamour was raised which required him to alter names I know not. One of the heaviest charges against him was, that he altered the names of places so as to puzzle all history, and turn the world upside down. That he altered, for instance, *Tournon* into *Turin*, pp. 196, 312, instead of letting it alone, or translating it into *Tours*. That, repeatedly he changed *Aquisgrane* into *Aquitaine* instead of *Aix-la-Chapelle* (pp. 457, 468, 663). That he turned *Augusta* into *Augsburgh*, instead of *Aosta* (p. 144). That instead of letting *Boloine* stand, or accommodating "the general reader" by spelling it *Bouillon*, he made it *Bologna* (p. 143). That he changed *Munster* into *Mons* (p. 157), &c.¹ One of the earliest noticed alterations in

¹ See Letters, p. 12.

the book was his *designedly* changing "*Minerius*" into "*Reinerius*" (p. 270). (*Review of Fox*, p. 40.)

All this was before the public had exclaimed any thing. All this was in the *first volume* ¹.

¹ In order still further to expose the gross affectation of the Editor and publishers in pretending so to misunderstand the charge brought against their work, I subjoin an extract from the Letter which I published in the "British Magazine" for November 1837, in reply to the "fears" expressed by the publishers, that in "*reprinting at a rapid rate* so peculiar a work as Foxe," some errors should have been "*left uncorrected.*" I endeavoured to answer plainly, "The charge against their edition is not (as they would insinuate) that, either from haste, or any other cause, they have '*left uncorrected*' the errors of the old edition, though it is true that they have done so to a most amazing extent—but it is not merely, or principally, with the '*retention of errors*' that their edition is charged. The charge is, that, though with no ill intention, the text of Fox has been *studiously depraved*—not merely that a bad text has been followed, but that it has been *industriously deteriorated*; and that beside this *many notes* have been added, misstating Fox's meaning, and tending to mislead the reader; in short, that while they boast of '*the production of a good edition,*' one that is '*by far the best edition of Foxe—the most complete, the most accurate—that has ever been produced,*' they are in fact bringing out a *bad* edition; and as far as my knowledge of two or three of the older editions enables me to judge, I think I may add, incomparably the *worst* that has ever been printed. It is easy to try this question. *Let the editor give a list of the corrections* which he made in the second and third volumes, (for they are principally in question, and I have scarcely had leisure to look much at the fourth,) and let us see what proportion they bear to the instances which I have given, in which he has clearly and palpably *incorrected Fox*, and made a blunder where there was

Fourthly, I must notice Mr. Cattley's proposal of a partnership. He tells the story in the following manner:—

“Previous to the publication of the volume now before the world, the Editor thought himself bound to write to Mr. Maitland, stating that an appendix would be prepared for each volume, and requesting him to supply any hints by the adopting of which this object might be more completely realized. The Editor regretted that an error *, over which he had no control, had placed Mr. Maitland rather in the light of a critic than in that of an assistant. He stated how valuable Mr. Maitland's services would have been, as a scholar conversant with all the difficulties of ecclesiastical history ; and to this application the Editor looked forward with pleasure to a reply. From the 1st of May to the 13th, 1839, Mr. Maitland was meditating what to do. After his

“* The Editor may be under a false impression with regard to this offer of Mr. Maitland, which was a verbal one, communicated through a friend.”

none before. I am quite prepared to meet such a list of corrections by a recapitulation of the numerous cases which I have pointed out, and the addition of many more. If this is not done, and if the result does not show that *the blunders now for the first time inserted into the work* are trifling both in number and magnitude when compared with those which have been corrected, it will be suspected that the publishers really ‘fear’ something more than they have chosen to express.”—Letters, p. 68.

I need hardly say that this offer was not accepted. At that time, only three volumes out of eight had been published, and if the publishers had dared to let their subscribers know the nature and amount of the errata, which are, “of course,” to be published, it is likely that a good many of them would have refused to pay five more half-guineas, if they did not ask for a return of the three already paid.

manner of speaking of the Editor, he actually discredited the genuineness of the letter. He could not conceive that one upon whose labours he had lavished such dispraise, could really write to him as one gentleman would to another! He could see no harmony between the tartness of his own observations and the civility of the note which he had received! He therefore went to the Publishers, and having actually ascertained that the signature affixed to the note was really that of the Editor, he retired back into the quiet recesses of Lambeth Palace, and penned a reply, which the Editor of course has not requested permission to make public, but from which a single extract will be enough. Having stated that 'silence is liable to misconstruction;' having stated the doubts which he entertained as to the genuineness of the letter which the Editor wrote to him; he winds up with these words, stating 'plainly, but without the wish to give you personal offence, that your proceedings, as the editor of Fox, appear to me so discreditable, that I do not wish to enter into any private correspondence with you.' After this reply, the Rev. S. R. Cattley felt much satisfaction in proceeding with his Appendices without the assistance of the Rev. S. R. Maitland." Vol. I. p. 494.

As the letters are but brief, it may be as well to give them entire.

"Fulham, May 1, 1839.

"Dear Sir,

"As I intend shortly to prepare some brief Appendix for each of the volumes of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, of which I am the Editor, I take the liberty of asking you to supply me with any hints, by the adoption of which this object may be more completely realized.

"From your public observations upon the early volumes, I imagine that you have carefully perused some portions of the work; and I regret that by an error, over which I had no controul, you had to appear rather as a critic, than as an assistant. I regret this the more, because, though the publication would

have been delayed, your able assistance as a scholar, and as one conversant with the difficulties of Ecclesiastical History, would have been extremely valuable to me.

"I shall therefore trust that you will favour me with a notice of errors or proposed emendations, by which the work may be improved, and that I may be permitted to make an avowal of your suggestions on this behalf.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"STEPHEN REED CATTLEY."

"*Lambeth, May 13th, 1839.*

"Reverend Sir,

"I feel that silence is liable to misconstruction, and therefore, had I been satisfied of the genuineness of the letter which I received on the 2nd instant, I should have earlier stated (plainly, but without the wish to give you personal offence,) that your proceedings as the Editor of Fox appear to me so discreditable, that I do not wish to enter into any private correspondence with you on the subject. I am,

"Reverend Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"S. R. MAITLAND."

It will be observed that Mr. Cattley's letter was not written until after the *eighth* volume of Fox was published. At no time during the publication of the book had he, so far as I know, taken any specific notice of any one error that I pointed out, or treated any thing like criticism of his work, either by myself or others, with any thing but ostentatious contempt. Indeed I do not know that he had ever afforded (perhaps I may say had been allowed to afford) to

the subscribers any hint that “cavils” had been raised against himself, or his book, until the publication of the *fifth* volume. In the mean time he stood quietly by, while the publishers took up the cudgels (which I presume they did not venture to trust in his hands), and said things of me which were more excusable, as coming from tradesmen whose wares were spoken of with disrespect, than if they had come directly from himself. This is not the usual course of things among gentlemen ; especially as it was acknowledged that the publishers were doing their part very handsomely, and were blameable only for persisting in the employment of such an editor. But so it was that the publishers took the defence into their own hands ; and when Mr. Rose rebuked them for what appeared to his honourable mind the meanness of representing my letter as anonymous, they seemed quite surprised, and felt themselves hardly used, and intimated that, considering who the person was, it was something like an act of candour and forbearance to talk of what I had written as if it were anonymous, rather than to mention my name in the business. In this I presume Mr. Cattley acquiesced ; and in perfect harmony with this, when the fifth volume came out, some months afterwards, he prefixed the following advertisement :—

“ The Editor regrets the delay which has attended the publication of the present volume, arising from a necessary reference to many hundred authors and originals, in order to render it more acceptable to the public.

" The Editor feels confident that this assurance will satisfy his own and Foxe's friends. To all others he takes this opportunity of stating, that the cavils raised against himself, and this Edition of the Acts and Monuments, will be best responded to, not by adopting the language, or by animadverting upon the motives of the assailants, but by noticing, in the Appendix, the alleged causes of their aspersions.

" FULHAM, *January 20, 1838.*

" ERRATA.

" P. 35, l. 15. ' Gunwell-hall;' a corruption of Gonville-hall, the old title of Gonville and Caius College.

" P. 47, note. For 'Anjou,' read 'Angers.' Also at page 54, line 18, the same.

" P. 54, l. 17. For 'faculties of decrees,' read 'faculty of decrees' [meaning, faculty of the canon law]."

Now if Mr. Cattley did not mean me, and did not mean to speak the language not merely of defiance, but of insult, it will be easy for him to say whom and what he did mean. Was it not intended to let me and my friends and the whole universe know, that it was his intention (as he phrases it) to notice the alleged causes of my aspersions, and chastise me very horribly in some Appendix? Could I expect that he would ask me to join in writing that Appendix? Was it possible that one who had, *to say the least*, quietly acquiesced in the statement that my name was discredit, and who had described my attempts at criticism as mere cavils and aspersions, and who was nursing his wrath to let it loose in an Appendix, would propose a partnership in writing that very Appendix?

Mr. Cattley is quite right in saying that I "actually discredited the genuineness of the letter." I was as entirely unacquainted with Mr. Cattley's handwriting as I am at this moment with his person; and knowing how much mirth his labours had created among some of my friends and acquaintance, I thought it not quite impossible that the letter might be a joke; and that by sending an answer to Mr. Cattley, I might seem guilty of incivility to him, and get laughed at into the bargain. I should have been glad for Mr. Cattley's sake to have found that it had been so. He is wrong in saying that I "went to the publishers," as well as in saying that from the 1st to the 13th of May I was meditating what to do. I did not go to the publishers; and during the interval which elapsed before I replied, I was occupied in many other ways than in meditating on his letter. I do not mean to make what he calls a "fuss" about what he would probably describe as a "casual statement," which, I suppose, means what a person says off-hand for convenience, without particularly knowing, or caring, whether it is true or false; but want of principle, and of due regard for truth, are as distinctly shown in this species of careless falsification as in almost any thing. I received Mr. Cattley's letter (as I stated in my reply) not on the 1st, but on the 2nd of May. How soon it went out of my possession I really do not know, nor do I feel called on to say where it went to; but from the cover in which it was returned to me, and in which it now lies before me,

I have no doubt that it came back to me on the 13th of May, and was on that day answered. While out of my possession it had, by my direction, been shown to one of the publishers, simply with a view to ascertain whether it really was Mr. Cattley's writing.

Nor does it appear that I was over-cautious ; for if what Mr. Cattley says is true, (the little trippings which I have just noticed lead me to speak hypothetically,) it looks as if something like the trick which I supposed might have been practised on me, had actually been played on him. What can he mean by my "offer?" If, as he seems to say, any "friend," either of his or mine, (I am not aware that we had a single acquaintance in common,) has ever made any communication of any kind to Mr. Cattley in my name, or professedly on my behalf, let him be *named* ; and let him explain what is to me altogether unintelligible.

Whether Mr. Cattley's conduct as Editor had been creditable or otherwise, people will form their own opinions. I am glad that Mr. Townsend has publicly stated his concurrence in mine. "I deemed it to be the duty of the Editor to refute or to acknowledge the errors which were thus affirmed respecting his labours¹." So did a good many other people ; and if Mr. Townsend always thought so, it is a pity, for his own sake, that he did not say it before. He has preferred to continue connected with the edition, and it is not a sentence or two of disclaimer, now

¹ Letter to ———, Esq. p. 3.

that the work is published and paid for, that will divest him of the responsibility incurred by allowing the use which has been made of his name for so many years.

Having offered these preliminary observations, I proceed to mention some things which I have noticed in the work which may furnish hints for the Appendix. It is not my intention to repeat here the notice which I have furnished of various errors in my Letters, though perhaps a repetition may occur; and I must repeat (for I find I cannot say it too often) that these hints are not the result of laborious examination and collation, but are such things as I have lighted on in casually dipping into the book.

First of all I will notice some of the Editor's notes, which, as they require no particular classification, I will place in the order of the volumes, and begin each with a reference to the page where it occurs, for the convenience of any subscriber who may oblige me by referring to the work, and testing the accuracy of my statements.

As the second and third volumes are stated by the publishers to have been published on the "system" of giving "Foxe's History, as correctly as possible, in the state in which he left it," and as it does not appear very clear what is going to be done with them in the cancels, I should go at once to those which they state to have been brought out "under a different system of revision," were it not that there is one note in the third volume¹ which certainly ought to be cancelled,

¹ Page 315.

but which I do not think the Editor has taken any recent measures to correct, because he could scarcely have referred to the original document, which is in my keeping, without my knowledge. If he has long since prepared a cancel or a correction, my anticipation of it will do no harm. The note is appended to the account of the penance imposed by Archbishop Courtenay on some tenants of the see who refused to render the service which was due from them, and which was the equivalent for rent. Fox tells the story thus:—

“To express, moreover, and describe, the glorious pomp of these prince-like prelates, in these blind days of popish religion reigning then in the Church, I thought to adjoin hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and enjoined strait penance by William Courtney, predecessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his horse, not in wains, as they should do, but in privy sacks, in a secret manner under their cloaks or coats : for which so heinous and horrible trespass, the said archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, did call and cite before him the said persons, (*pro litera*, i. e. for litter, after his own Latin,) and, after their submission, enjoined them penance ; which penance what it was, and what were the names of the aforesaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishop's registers, both by his own words, and by picture of the persons in the same registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here also to be seen.” Vol. III. p. 315.

Now, what but the weak, bitter spirit of levelling puritanism could make Foxe so represent this transaction, if he really understood it? The simple fact (obvious from the sentence which I shall quote pre-

sently) is, that certain tenants who held lands and tenements of the see of Canterbury by the tenure of furnishing hay and straw for the archbishop's horses, refused or evaded the performance of their "due service." They were not asked to be "good to my lord grace's horse," but to pay their rent. They were willing tenants holding lands and tenements in consideration of certain payments, which payments they dishonestly refused or evaded, and on being cited before the archbishop, they acknowledged their offence, and the punishment which he enjoined them was, that on the next Sunday, when the procession should be made in the Church of their parish, they should walk in it bare-headed, and bare-footed, with sacks of hay and straw on their shoulders¹. There are persons to whom this will seem very

¹ I apprehend that this sort of penance in kind, if I may so call it, was not uncommon at a very much later period. Strype gives us (among the *detecta et comperta*) in the metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Lincoln, by Cardinal Pole, in 1556, an account of two men who did penance in Fox's native town by carrying quarters of lamb on their shoulders in the market, for having eaten meat on a fast day.

"Anthonius Strailes et Ric'us Langrake comederunt carnes quodam die Sab'ti. xxvii. die Julii anno Dni. predict. comparuerunt d'ci Anthonius et Ric'us; et fatentur artic'lum, ac penitentie se humiliter submiserunt. Quibus juratis Dns. injunxit penitere in hunc modum. Q^d d'ci Anthonius et Ric'us in publico mercato apud Boston circumferant sup. humeris suis induti linthiamen, nudis pedibus et capite, unum quarterium agni, viz. *Le a lambs quarter*." Stry. Mem. vol. iii. part ii. p. 409.

“strait penance” for cheating an archbishop; but to myself it does not appear very unmerciful, and I do not discern any “glorious pomp” in it. To come, however, to the Editor’s note.

“The registers of the archbishops of Canterbury, of which Foxe so wisely availed himself in compiling his Acts and Monuments of the Church, remain to this day indisputable proofs of his own veracity, and most instructive memorials of the pride and oppression of the Church of Rome. The illustration on the opposite page differs slightly from that which is given by our author; it is, nevertheless, an exact copy from archbishop Courtney’s Register, which, by the obliging permission of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the Editor was enabled to take, from the original document at Lambeth. Foxe adjoins to his illustration, the following verses, which must not be understood as forming an extract from the Register, but were probably the production of his own pen :—

‘ This bag full of straw, I bear on my back,
Because my lord’s horse his litter did lack ;
If ye be not good to my lord grace’s horse,
Ye are like to go barefoot before the cross.’

The superscription in the archbishop’s Register is as follows :—‘ *Injunctio pœnitentiæ tenentibus domini, in non portando sufficientem quantitatem fœni et straminis.*’—ED.”

It is quite clear that for any man to write thus, without having made a considerable collation of Fox’s extracts and translations with the Registers, would be a fraud on his readers. How much he has done in this way Mr. Cattley will, perhaps, inform us. In the mean time, this note, and the extract to which it belongs, show us that we should not be likely to gain much by his undertaking such a business. It is true, that in the margin of the Register there is such a picture as he gives, and over it, in a hand comparatively modern,

with respect to both Archbishop Courtenay and to Fox, there is a superscription which the Editor has attempted to copy. I do not wonder that one who could write "vide epistolam viginti," or "ex libro Wigornensis," and the like¹, should be satisfied to give such unintelligible words as "in non portando," but they should be altered to "ni, [i. e. nostri,] non curando;" nor do I wonder that he could not understand or translate the twenty lines of Latin which he gives us in the next page, and which Fox professes to give from Archbishop Courtenay's Register.

I will here give them as they stand in the edition of 1583, p. 555, inserting between brackets some of the more important corrections, which a collation with the original suggests.

"Erroris mater ignorantia, quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, tenentes domini de Wengam taliter obcecavit, quod ante adventum dicti domini archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominice² in ramis palmarum, Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo, de cariendo³ [*curando*] et ducendo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, stramen, sive literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, et tenura [*tenementorum*] suorum quas et quæ tenent de domino et ecclesia sua Cantuariæ astringuntur, per ballium domini ibidem jussi et legitime præmoniti debita servitia more solito impendere dedignantur stramen hujusmodi non in carrucis et

¹ See Letters, p. 16.

² The new edition has *dominica*. I suspect that the editor altered the letter *e*, (not recognizing it as the usual representative of the *æ* in the days of Abp. Warham,) into *a*, to make it agree with *vigilia*.

³ This mistake is, in the new edition, altered to *ceriendo*.

vehiculis publice [*et*] in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, pontificis [*portantes*] ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt, in vilipendium domini ac subtractionem : jurium ecclesiæ suæ Cantua. Unde super hoc evocati coram domino, [*coram domino evocati,*] die Jovis in hebdomada Paschæ in castro suo de Statewode [*Saltwode*] pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius judicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam et misericordiam pro commissis devote petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, [*præfatos*] Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, de stando mandatis ecclesiæ, et fideliter peragendo pœnam [*pœnitentiam*] eis pro eorum demeritis injungendam, juratos absolvit in forma juris, nunciata [*injuncta*] eis et eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœna [*pœnitentia*] salutari : videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente, prædicti pœnitentes nudi capita et pedes, processionem apud ecclesiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno et stramine) ita quod stramen et fœnum hujusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter et devote.—*Ex regist. W. Courtney.*"

Now, I think it must be admitted, that a person who could make such an extract is not to be trusted; and the nature of the mistakes is such as to show that Fox was not competent to read old manuscripts; "Prout ex tenura terrarum et tenura suorum quas et quæ tenent de domino," is a sentence which might surely have suggested whether the contraction "ten.," which followed "terrarum et," was properly resolved by "tenura," even to a reader who had not learned to associate "lands and tenements." It is quite clear that the contractions, though neither very artificial nor unusual, puzzled Fox, and that he did not

know how to write out the words at length. Thus he guesses *port.* into *pontificis*, instead of *portantes*; *pfat.* into *præfatus*, instead of *præfatos*, and *pniam* into *pœnam* instead of *pœnitentiam*. Whether the change of *Saltwode* into *Statewode* was meant for wit, or whether it was only that, like other words which I have noticed, he did not make out the writing, I do not know.

Vol. IV. p. 239, are some extracts from the Register of Bishop Longland, respecting the persecution in his diocese of Lincoln. In them we find a paragraph beginning, "Sir John, a priest, and also Robert Robinson, detected Master Cotismore of Brightwell," &c. The Editor's note is "'Sir John,' or 'Sir John Lacklatin,' a term of derision for the lower orders of the popish clergy.—ED." Did Mr. Cattley really believe that the Bishop of Lincoln, or his Registrar, adopted this "term of derision" in recording the acts of the clergy in the register of the diocese?

Vol. IV. p. 363, it is stated, that after the sentence of degradation had been passed on John Castellane, priest, the Bishop of Nicopolis proceeded to put it in execution. On the word "Nicopolis," the editor has put this brief note; "'Nicopolis,' Nicholas-du-Port.—ED." Will he give us some hint of his meaning?

Vol. IV. p. 373, it is stated, that the "Abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the Bishop of Metz, suddenly, at the coming of the Duchess of Denmark into the city of Nancy, stricken with sudden fear at

the crack of the guns, fell down and died, as those who were present and saw it have made faithful relation of the same, A.D. 1525." The Editor's note is "'Clarilocus,' Clermont.—ED." Surely he might have begged or borrowed Latin and French enough to translate *Clarus-locus* into *Clair-lieu*, even if he had not any map to show that there was any place so named near to Nancy. Any inquiry respecting the truth of the story, he may perhaps consider as belonging to the province of his kinsman.

Vol. IV. p. 408 : it seems to me as if the Editor should have taken some notice of the note which Fox has given on this passage ; if, by the time that he had got thus far, he had abandoned the notion of a "mere reprint," and meant to correct errors. In a passage which I have quoted, he asks ; "Was the Editor of this edition to write critical notes upon every extract from the history of the Church contained in divers ancient and divers different writers, all embodied in Fox's work ?" For several reasons, I should say certainly not ; but, at the same time, if he saw a note of Fox that was mere ignorant nonsense, I think it was part of his duty to put the general reader on his guard.

"Then the official asked, what he thought of holy oil, salt, with such other like ? To whom the martyr answered, that all these things were a mere *Maranismus*, that is, they savoured of the law of *Maranorum*, and of the superstition of the Jews."

Fox seems to have thought that his readers would

require some explanation of this, and he has given them the following note:—

“*Maranatha* is a Hebrew word, mentioned 1 Cor. xvi., and signifieth curse and malediction to the loss of all that a man hath, and thereof cometh *Maranismus* : vid. Nic. Lyr.”

Mr. Townsend, while he concedes that Fox’s “acquaintance with the Jewish and rabbinical literature was not so extensive or profound as with the annals and erudition of Christian Churches,” adds, “still he had so competent a skill in the Hebrew language, as to become thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures in the original language¹.” He, therefore, will perhaps furnish a notice for the Appendix, showing that this note is all quite right, and very demonstrative of Fox’s Hebrew learning. It will not require more assurance, or manifest more ignorance, than to maintain that “*laneis vestibus*” is rightly translated by “thin garments.” But if he does not do this, I would propose some brief addition to the note, just to say that *Maranatha* means no such thing; that Nicholas de Lyra, (a Hebrew of the Hebrews,) would have been one of the last men in the world to say that it did, and that, supposing it to mean that, or any thing else, it has nothing to do with the matter in hand.

So much I think the Editor ought to do for the sake of those subscribers who are not as good

¹ Life of Fox, p. 53.

Hebraists as Fox is said to have been. Whether he may think it worth while to trace the cause of Fox's error in ascribing his own ignorance (which seems merely to have guessed at *maranatha* from some similarity of sound) to Nicholas de Lyra, or to attempt to explain what will probably be obscure to most readers, is for him to decide.

As to the first, I think he will find that Fox had got hold of and misunderstood Paulus Burgensis, when he supposed he was reading Nicholas de Lyra; but it is not worth while here to enter into that.

As to the second point; namely, what Claudius Monerius really meant by *maranismus* and *marranorum*, I do not take upon me to say positively, but I will offer a conjecture. The passage in which the words occur, is in Crispin's *Actiones*, 169. b. and in Pantaleon's continuation of Fox's Latin work of 1559, and stands thus, I believe, in both; "Ventum est ad oleum illud sacrum, salem, aliasque ejus generis nugas, quas aiebam merum esse *marranismum*. Hic cum viderem Officiale[m] hæsitare in voce *marranismi* declaravi illi quid ea sibi vellet, dicens, istiusmodi unguenta et salsamenta prorsus redolere legem *marranorum* ac superstitionem Judaicam," p. 210. It may be presumed that Monier spoke French, and that this is a Latin translation of his words. What they might be I cannot exactly say; but I think I can tell what would have corresponded to it in the English of his time and party. An English puritan would have been very likely to tell

the official, that these things were "all *maumetrie*," or "*mammetry*." This the Editor has explained in a note at Vol. III. p. 327, to mean "Puppet or idol-worship;" which meaning, or something like it, it certainly came to have; but the original meaning of the word, or rather the word itself originally, was "Mahometry." "We," (says Selden, and it is to be wished that some other people were as candid in their acknowledgements while they are as base in their practice,) "charge the prelatical clergy with popery to make them odious, though we know that they are guilty of no such thing. Just as heretofore they called images *mammets*, and the adoration of images *mammetry*; that is, *Mahomet*, and *Mahometry*; odious names, when all the world knows the Turks are forbidden images by their religion¹." All the world might know this in Selden's day, or he might think

¹ P. 90. I am indebted to Dr. Wordsworth for pointing out the passage of Selden, which he has given in a note on a declaration of Lord Cobham, that he who worshipped a dead image, committed the "greatest sin of *maumetrie*." *Eccles. Biog.* Vol. I. p. 368. This saying of Lord Cobham's stands in the new edition of Fox, "the greatest sin of *mammetry*." Vol. III. 327; in the edition of 1576, it is "maumetry," p. 538; but in the original English edition of 1563 it stands, "the abhominable sinne of *idolatry*," p. 264. So it is in what I believe to be the original edition of Bale's "Brief Chronicle," p. 19. b. (xxx. 8. 16. 8°.); as, indeed, might be expected, seeing that Fox's account of Lord Cobham is, with very few alterations, a reprint of Bale's book. Such verbal differences as this which I have noticed, show that we must not too much rely on the precise language of the documents thus given to us.

that they did; but I doubt whether Fox had very clear ideas of Mahometanism. It may, perhaps, surprise some persons, even among those who make broad vouchers for Fox's accuracy, and for the documents which we owe to him, to find "Solyman the great Turk," in his letter to the master of Rhodes, first swearing by "God the maker of heaven and earth," and afterwards, "by our mighty God Mahomet, above all others to be worshipped." Vol. IV. p. 350.

But as to the perverse notion thus entertained of Mahometry by the uneducated, may it not have arisen from their seeing puppet exhibitions of Mahound and Termagaunt, till the origin of the name was lost, and it came to convey little idea but that of a puppet? Just as the vulgar in our day might ridicule grotesque images by calling them Punch and Judy, without thinking at all of Pontius Pilate or Judas Iscariot. The meaning of the word is however plain, and the next question is, why Monier called Maumetrie, *Marranismus*; and the answer, I suppose, is, that the schoolmaster of Lyons knew (though the official and Fox did not) that the Moors in Spain were called *Marrani*.

Vol. IV. p. 697. Bishop Tonsal, writing to Sir Thomas More about the publications of some whom he considered heretics, and whom he wished More to refute, says, "I send you here their own fond tryals in their own tongue." The Editor's note is neither more nor less than "Tryal; i. e. 'triatio,' old Latin, 'an endeavour.'"—ED. What can this mean; and what is the Editor's idea of "*old* Latin?"

Vol. V. p. 293. The text (at least in the edition of 1596, p. 1047. a. for I have not the 1583 at hand) has the words "lift up into heaven," (being in fact a translation of the words of Berengarius "*elevata in cœlum*¹;" but the Editor having apparently collated this passage with an earlier edition than that from which he was reprinting, found in it "*lyste up*," a very common typographical error when printers used the long f, and the double letter ft might easily pass for ft. Obvious as this is, it does not appear to have occurred to the Editor; and he treats it as a various reading. But then, what meaning was to be assigned to it? Whoever heard of any thing being "*lysted up*?" and what could be meant by the body of Christ having been *lysted* up into heaven? I presume that the Editor made a meaning purely out of his own head, and wrote "Edit. 1570. '*Lyste up*,' or limited to."—ED. Of course, it was rather an improvement of Berengarius's testimony about transubstantiation; but it ought in honesty as well as policy to be cancelled.

Vol. V. p. 406, there is a copy of verses so profane and irreverent, that one is surprised that those concerned in the new edition should have dared to reprint them. I may find another and more suitable place to speak of its loathsome ribaldry; but I here mention it merely with reference to two notes of the Editor. The first is on these lines:—

"There were we flockedy
Lowt^d and mocked;"

¹ Bib. Pat. VI. 198 E.

and the note tells us, “‘lowted,’ kneeled or bowed.—ED.” Here (as too often) the Editor seems to have been misled by his friend Nathan Bailey’s Dictionary, and might say in the words of Shakespeare, “I am *lowted* by a traitor villain !” Nares would have given him that passage in proof, that to ‘lout,’ means to make a ‘lout’ of anybody.

The other note is on this verse—

“ To Maister John Shorne,
That blessed man borne ;
For the ague to him we apply,
Which jugeleth with a *bote* :
I beshrowe his herte rote
That wyle truste him, and it be I !”

The note is “‘Bote,’ a recompence or fee.—ED.” Supposing that the word might sometimes or somewhere have some such meaning, yet it seems very unnatural to say that a man juggled *with* a recompence, when the writer of the verses might just as well have said that he juggled *for* one ; and the Editor’s note looks like the guess of ignorance, grounded on the notion, that if John Shorne juggled respecting those persons who went on pilgrimage to be cured of their ague, it was that he might get something. It may be worth while to add, that, by comparing two passages, of which the Editor does not appear to have seen the connexion, some light may be thrown on an obscure superstition. Nares says,—

•

“ SHORNE, M. JOHN, whoever he was, must have been an

eminent saint. In the *Four Ps*, the Palmer boasts that he had been at all famous shrines; among the rest, 'at mayster *Johan Shorne*, in Canterbury,' *O. Pl.* i. 55. 'He said he ware not the same [coat] since he came last from *Sir John Shorne*.'—*Legh's Acced. of Armorie, Preface*. Latimer says, 'Ye shall not think that I will speake of the popish pilgrimage, which we were wont to use in times past, in running hither and thither, to *M. John Shorne*, or to our Lady of Walsingham. No, no, I will not speake of such fooleries.'—*Latimer*, p. 186, b. Of his history or of his shrine, I have not been fortunate enough to learn anything more; but, from his being called *Sir*, we may conjecture that he had been a priest of *Shorne*, in Kent."

The going on pilgrimage to St. John Shorne is incidentally mentioned at pages 232 and 580 of the fourth volume of Fox, but in a way which throws no light on the subject. The verse which I have quoted, seems as if there was some relic which was supposed to cure the ague, and by which the 'juggle' was carried on. Now, another passage in this same fifth volume, p. 468, leads me to believe that this relic really was (and therefore the word 'bote' simply means) a 'boot.' In this passage we learn that one of the causes of "Robert Testwood's trouble," was his ridiculing the relics which were distributed to be borne by various persons in a procession 'upon a relic Sunday.' St. George's dagger having been given to one Master Hake, Testwood said to Dr. Clifton, "Sir, Master Hake hath St. George's dagger. Now, if he had his horse, and St. Martin's cloak, and Master *John Shorne's boots*, with King Harry's spurs, and his hat, he might ride when he would."

Vol. V. p. 627, we read, "Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most *warlike* array, with *Jack*, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, &c." On which the Editor's note is, "'Jack,' a leathern vessel for carrying water.—ED." What was there of warlike array in leather vessels for carrying water? If it was needful to look in a dictionary, Nares would have told him, "A horseman's defensive upper garment, quilted and covered with strong leather," &c.

Vol. V. p. 691. Fox tells us that the bishop of Winchester's exclusion from the executorship of Henry the Eighth's will was "to him no small *corsey*," and the Editor's note is, "'corsey,' a corruption of the Scotch word 'corses,' or money.—ED." What could he mean? Did he suppose that, as a matter of fact, Gardiner got "no small" money by being excluded from the executorship? How could he find or make so absurd an explanation? The word *corsey* is well enough known; and it, as well as *corsive* and *corzie*, is with great probability considered as a corruption of "corrosive." Be this as it may, Nares gives sufficient examples of its use to leave us in no doubt as to its meaning. "That same bitter *corsive* which did eat her tender heart."—*Spenser*. "Every cordiall that my thoughts apply, Turns to a *cor'sive*, and doth eat it farder."—*B. Jonson*. "His perplexed mother was driven to make him by force be tended, with extreme *corsey* to herselfe, and annoyance to him."—*Pembr. Arcad.*

Vol. VI. p. 216. Alexander Dering, Notary and Registrar under Master Cook, in the diocese of Winchester, being examined in the matter of Bishop Gardiner, declared, that after the king's visitation of the diocese, a letter was sent "to Master Chancellor, videlicet, Dr. Steward, for reformation of certain *comperis* in the visitation, wherein they," [the king's visitors] "had taken no order." The Editor's note is "'Comperis,' delegates in the civil law.—ED." Was there ever anything so unmeaning? what could the Editor suppose himself to mean? Will he cancel the note, and let his readers find out as they may what is meant by *comperis*, or will he tell them that the matters presented or found at visitations were technically called the "*Comperta et Detecta*," which were respectively Englished into *comperis* and *detects*¹? Corresponding to these *comperta et detecta* were certain "*acta et habita*," which formed a very important part of a visitation; though it appears, that in the present case, what should have been had and done in respect of certain particular *comperis*, had been neglected.

Vol. VI. p. 421. Lady Jane Grey, in a letter to her father's chaplain, speaks of "Peter, Paul, Ste-

¹ We have just been reading that "Sir John, a priest, and also Robert Robinson, *detected* Master Cotismore;" and the phrase is often to be found in Fox. When All-Souls had been visited by commission, Archbishop Whitgift wrote "that he found also by the *detects* that," &c.—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, vol. ii. p. 464, old ed. p. 557.

phen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the Church, as of good Simeo, Archbishop of Solyma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Sapor, the King of the Persians and Indians." Of course the Editor was not bound to have heard of Simeon, the martyred primate of Jerusalem, though Lady Jane had probably been brought up to consider him as the Son of Cleophas, the nephew of the blessed Virgin, and the brother of St. James the Less; but what a gratuitous ostentation of ignorance does it seem to put such a note as the following on the very word *Solyma*; "Simeo was Archbishop of *Seleucia* about A.D. 250.—ED." Why, suppose he had been, what had that to do with Simeon of *Jerusalem*? But the note is not merely irrelevant, but false. Simeon of Seleucia was not Archbishop about A.D. 250; at least, if he was, he must have held the see a long while; for it is I believe indisputable, that he was not martyred till more than ninety years after that time. It will be well to cancel this note, and substitute one on Zetrophone, about whom readers in general will be much more at a loss than about Simeon of Jerusalem.

Vol. VI. p. 501, we have Latimer's Protestation, of which Strype says¹; "As Cranmer and Ridley had delivered in writing their sentiments or protestations upon the three questions propounded by the papists to them, to dispute on at Oxford; so old father

¹ Mem. III. i. 375.

Latymer also delivered his. A copy whereof, such as Fox could then procure, is recorded in his Acts and Monuments; but it is very imperfect, and many mistakes made, and many things omitted, as I find by a very good copy that I have met with among the Foxian MSS., and therefore I have placed it in the catalogue." (No. XXXIV.) The copy in Strype is nearly half as long again as in Fox; but I doubt whether it has always the more correct text. For instance, where Fox (New Ed. p. 502, l. 6,) reads "masters the *offerers*," it has "*officers*;" but on the other hand, when, five lines further on, Fox reads "master or offerer," Strype's copy is no doubt right in reading "masser." In line 44 of the same page, the making Latimer say, "I have spoken in my time before two kings more than *once*, two or three hours together," is, I suppose, a correction of the Editor, as the Fox of 1596 and Strype agree in reading "more than *one*, two, or three hours," though they differ in so far, as that Fox in the old edition agrees with the new in reading "together," while Strype reads "to either." But surely, if by the time they had got more than half through the sixth volume, all parties had begun to think that some attention to correctness was desirable, one might have expected that such a document, from such a man, with such a stigma as Strype had fixed on Fox's copy, and such easy means for its emendation, would have obtained some editorial care.

I am inclined to think that if we had a correct

copy, we should probably find that Latimer indulged in some play on the words "mafter" and "masser." Such as when in this same Protestation, he says, "Stande from the aulter, you sacrileginge (I should have said you sacrificinge) priestes¹;" and in another instance, which I shall have occasion to notice presently. It was, indeed, a common piece of humour among writers and speakers of that period. Thus Bale, in his "Brief Chronicle of Lord Cobham," says; "He abhorred all the supersticious sorceries, ceremonies I should say, of the proud Romish church²." The writer of "A Lamentacyon of a Christian," printed in 1548, speaks of "the unholy (I shoulde say holy) mayde of Kent³;" and in a "Dialogue" printed a few years after, the author, describing some of the Romish services, says; "And the devil (the deacon I should have said,) read the middle text⁴."

Now this species of wit occurs not unfrequently in Fox's work. For instance, at Vol. V. p. 635, he says; "two false fiends, I should say, friars:" and the Editor suffers it to pass without notice, while, in every other place where I have observed it, he has not seen the intended wit, and has so altered the text as to get rid of it, and make nonsense. Thus, after speaking of the synod held at London, in 1413,

¹ Stry. Mem. Vol. III. P. ii. p. 293.

² Sig. A viii.

³ Sig. A v. b. (xxx. 8. 14. 8vo.)

⁴ Sig. D iii. b. (xxx. 8. 20. 8vo.)

Fox says ; “ In that synod . . . was determined that the day of St. George and also of St. Dunstan, should be double feast, called *duplex festum* in holy Kitching, in holy Church, I would say¹. ” Of course there is, or is meant to be, something very humourous in an author’s so tripping and catching himself up, and hoping no offence, and looking very sly and laughing in his sleeve, just as we may imagine Dr. Kettle, the Master of Trinity College, Oxford, when he “ would presently recal himself,” after having, with pretended inadvertence, commemorated “ Sir Thomas Pope, our *con*-Founder². ” But the Editor suspected nothing of this, and destroyed it all by altering the text to “ should be a double feast, called Duplex Festum in holy church : in holy kitchen, I would say³. ” Again : Fox relating the disputations of Cranmer at Oxford, says in his text, “ That done, they came all into the Quier, and there held the Convocation of the Universitie. They had Masse of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in pricksong by the Quier men of Christes Church. ” This matter Fox thought fit to commend to the attention of his readers by a facetious side note, in these terms ; “ Masse in pike-sauce, in pricke-song I would say⁴. ” The Editor, not seeing the wit of this, has transposed it, and put it as a note at the bottom of the page,

¹ Edit. 1583, vol. i. p. 553.

² Letters of Eminent Persons, &c. in the Bodleian, Vol. III. p. 425.

³ New Edit. iii. p. 319.

⁴ Ed. 1596, p. 1229.

where it looks silly enough, “‘Mass in prick-song’—mass in pike-sauce, I would say¹.” Again: Latimer in his letter to King Henry, says of those whom he calls Pharisees², “they have sore blinded your liege people and subjects with their lawes, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions, (corrections I would say,) &c.³” The Editor, who does not seem to have suspected even father Latimer of pleasantry, puts a very sober note for the use of his readers. It is neither more nor less than this, “‘I would say,’ *i. e.* I wish to say.—ED.” The same wit is used by Careless in one of his letters, where he says; “bloodthirsty bitesheeps (bishops I should say)⁴.” In a letter to Bonner, too, as it stands in the new edition, at Vol. VII. p. 713, we find “your lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellows—bite-sheep bishops, I would say.” In the edition of 1596 it stands less incorrectly, “to all

¹ New Ed. vol. vi. p. 441.

² Lest people should not understand who were meant, Fox put a side-note to this; “The subtle wiliness and practice of the *Prelates*.” In the new edition that word is changed to *Pharisees*. By what right or for what reason? This I happen accidentally to see on turning to the page, to look for the matter of which I have spoken in the text; and I also observe, that instead of “sore blinded” the new edition has “so blinded.” It may be only carelessness; but one must never expect to look out a mistake without hitting upon one or two others.

³ Ed. 1596, p. 1590.

⁴ Vol. vii. p. 506.

⁵ Vol. viii. p. 172. (Ed. 1596, p. 1743.)

your fellowes, bitesheep bishops I would say," p. 1673. In a copy of the letter given by Strype, it is, as no doubt it ought to be, "fellow bitesheeps (bishops I would say) ¹."

At Vol. VI. p. 556, there is a copy of Latin verses, entitled, "Answer by the Bishop of Norwich to the Bishop of Lincoln," which originated thus:—"Master White, then Bishop of Lincoln, (his political vein being drunk with joy of the marriage,) spewed out certain verses" about the marriage of Philip and Mary, in which he showed that it had been very distasteful to certain parties whom he mentions, namely, the devil, the Scotch, the heretics, (the *humani generis dæmon vetus hostis*, the *Scotus inops*, the *hæreticus*, &c.); and among others, to the Catiline of the age, Sir Thomas Wyatt, (*ætatis nostræ Catilina, Viatus.*) The 'Answer by the Bishop of Norwich,' or rather the two answers made to these lines of Bishop White, are conceived in a style of parody, abusing the Papists in no measured terms, talking of the 'Italus Goliath,' and his "papicolæ," the "grex pontificum, stirps Caiphæ, turba bicornis," warmly defending Sir Thomas Wyat, and calling him '*fortissimus ille Viatus*,' and '*bonus ille Viatus*.'" Now, who does the reader suppose was this Bishop of Norwich, who was thus magnifying the rebel, abusing the Papists, and making it out, that the Queen's marriage was pleasing to them, and their

¹ Strype's Mem. Vol. iii. P. ii. p. 386.

father the devil, but hateful in the eyes of all decent people? Why, if we may believe the Editor's note, no less a person than "Dr. John Hopton," who had been the chaplain of the Lady Mary, and whom she had (6th Oct. 1554,) made Bishop of Norwich. Of course it would be silly, after what has been already produced, to speak as if it could have been expected that the Editor should have known anything about the general history of the times, or the particular histories, qualities, and opinions of Bishop Hopton, and his antipodean successor Bishop Parkhurst, except as he might have happened to pick up something of names, while the sheets of the book which he had undertaken to edit passed under his eye; but how could he avoid doing something of this sort? Had not he just been printing in this same volume, "A Remembrance of certain matters appointed by the Council, to be declared by *Dr. Hopton*, to the Lady Mary's Grace, for answer to her former letter; which said Hopton was, after she came to her reign, Bishop of Norwich," VI. 8. Perhaps, however, it was just from having recorded this that he knew the name of Hopton as a bishop of Norwich at all, while he knew so little of the book which he and his experienced assistants were editing, as not to be aware, that in the next volume he would have to exhibit "the said bishop, Dr. Hopton," and his chancellor, acting "full like unmerciful prelates," VII. 372, and in the volume after, to record "Three examinations of John Fortune, before Dr. Hopton, Bishop of

Norwich," VIII. 161. "The troubles of Peter Moon and his wife and of other godly Protestants, at Bishop Hopton's visitation in Ipswich," *ibid*, 223; and "The Story and Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, put to death by the persecuting Papists at Norwich," under "the bishop's bloody blessing of condemnation," *ibid*, 463.

Vol. VI. p. 592, there is an elaborate note occasioned by the statement, that John Rogers "went to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure." On this the Editor says, "We can hardly suppose that Rogers preached Dutch to the poor Saxons, of which language they understood nothing. This error has occurred before, and has been briefly noticed; but it may be as well to endeavour to account for its origin. The adjective which means 'German,' is in the German tongue, 'Deutsch,' and this has been translated 'Dutch,' instead of 'German;' for it is not probable that there should have been a congregation of Hollanders in an inland town like Wittenberg. The German word for a native of Holland is 'Holländer,' and the adjective expressing our word 'Dutch' is 'Holländisch.' *It would seem* that, in early times, German and Dutch were called respectively 'High Dutch' and 'Low Dutch;' but the word 'Dutch,' without

an accompanying adjective, has always meant in our tongue 'a Hollander,' or that which belongs to Holland. A reference to the Latin edition of the Acts and Monuments, (Basle, 1559, p. 266,) confirms the above observations, 'Profectus ilicò Vuittenbergam adeo in Germanicâ descendâ linguâ celeres fecit progressus,' etc. The town of Wittenberg, it may be added, can scarcely *now*, with propriety, be said to be in Saxony, as it is in the dominions of Prussia; although our best English gazetteer, published in 1822, calls it Wittenberg, and says that it belongs to the electorate of Saxony, which electorate in 1822 had long ceased to exist, and Wittenberg belonged to Prussia. The Prussians still call the province in which Wittenberg is situated, the 'Provinz Sachse,' because it did formerly make a part of the electorate of Saxony.—ED." It seems as if it might be highly expedient to cancel this note; though it may not be easy fully to explain to the Editor all the reasons for doing so.

Vol. VII. p. 7. Among the matters objected against the Bishop of St. David's, one was, that "To the ploughing of a pasture not above ten days' work, in Lent, anno 1549, he had thirty-two ploughs in one day; and these ploughs the priest bade in the Church, contrary to the statute of *Gomortha* in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of the gentlemen of that country." It being probable that very few of the subscribers will know what this means, it may be worth while to put

a note to this effect, "If you do not know what this means, you had better try to find out." Such a note will be much the same in effect, and less curt in expression than the present note, which is neither more nor less than "'Gomortha,' or Comorth, see old statutes.—Ed."

Vol. VII. p. 131. Bonaventure being mentioned in the text, the note tells us, "Bonaventure, who was the compiler of our Lady's Psalter, lived A.D. 1470, and was canonized A.D. 1482." How the former of these dates stands in the edition of 1583 I have not at present the means of ascertaining; but in those of 1576 and 1597 it is 1170. Both dates are bad enough, for Bonaventure was born A.D. 1221.

Vol. VII. p. 274. "I might have written but yet I have not," says Bradford, "now the cause I *would* not. And why *would* I not, but because I *could* not? I mean, because my *canning* is taken away by sin," &c. The Editor appends a note to tell us that "canning" means "wisdom."

On the same page Bradford says, "God's deserts have otherwise bound me," and the Editor puts a note to tell us that the word "deserts" means "mercies."

Vol. VII. p. 275. There is a note to tell us that the word "belly-cheer" means "selfishness," though (even if the word had not in itself a pretty plain-spoken meaning) the burthen of the letter in which it occurs, is the regret that Bradford felt about a supper which had been made in his chamber. Perhaps it might be as well to cancel it.

Vol. VII. p. 613. Philpot having annexed to his account of his third examination, "Thus for the third fit," the Editor gives a note "'Fitte' or fight.—Ed." He can of course cancel it or not as he likes.

Vol. VII. p. 665. In reply to Philpot's assertion that he had the Spirit of God, Morgan accused him of being actuated by the "spirit of the buttery," and charged his companions with having gone drunk to the stake. The phrase is, one would think, pretty intelligible; but as the Editor did not understand it himself, he may, if he pleases, explain it to his readers by an extract from a book printed in the same year in which Fox began his publication of *Martyrology* at Strasburg. It will show that the Puritans could retort the charge;—"Many times this hath been seen, that the clerk hath left the cross behind him, and the priest his gospel-book, and scant found the right way home, they have been so cumbered with malt-wormes and miseled with the spirit of the buttery¹." In this case, however, it will be necessary to cancel the present note, which says, that Morgan

¹ Sig. D viii. b. (xxx. 8. 20. 8vo.) The full title is "A Dialogue, or familiar talke betwene two neighbours concerning the chyefest ceremonyes that were by the mighti power of God's most holie pure worde suppressed in Englande, and now for our unworthines set vp agayne by the Bishoppes, the imps of Anti-christ: right learned, profitable, and pleasaunt to be read, for the comfort of weak consciences in these troublous daies. Read first and then judge. From Roane, by Michael Wodde, the xx of February, Anno Domi. M.D.L.III."

referred to "A fairy or goblin said to haunt pantries or buttries."

Vol. VIII. p. 59. We read that Bishop Brooks said to Cranmer, "there is such *cauteria* of heresy crept into your conscience," &c. The Editor appends this note, "'Cauteria,' i. e. fires.—ED." It is a pity the Editor did not think of 1 Tim. iv. 2.

Vol. VIII. p. 222. We are told that Dr. Argentine would not preach without his "white *minever* hood." The note is "'Minever,' a skin with specks of white." If this is correct, it may be worth while to add a few words, explaining how white specks look on a white skin.

Vol. VIII, p. 326. "What heart," says Fox, "will not lament the murdering mischiefs of these men, who, for want of work, do so wreak their *tine* on poor silly women." The Editor's note is, "'Wreak their tine,' that is, 'wreak their malice or cruelty,' a 'tine' being the point or prong of a fork.—ED." A *tine* *being* the prong of a fork, one sees the matter at once. It is not as if a tine had been the handle of a fork, or the blade of a knife. Being the point *or* the prong, it of course means malice *or* cruelty. Why did the Editor suspend his railroad printing, and infinite collations, to write such stuff as this? Such phrases as "Cold winter storms and *wreakful teene*," or "nought could mollify his raging *teene*," with which Nares's Glossary might have furnished him, would do more to untie, or cut the knot, than all the knives and forks in the world.

Vol. VIII. p. 353, we are told that Dr. Langdale, parson of Buxsted, in his examination of Thomas Woodman, said, "Your father is an honest man, and one of my parish, and hath wept to me divers times, because you would not be ruled; and he loveth you well, and so doth all the country, both rich and poor, if it were not for those evil opinions that you hold, with many such like tales of Robin Hood." The Editor is justly scandalized at what he considers a demonstration of historical scepticism, and thus reproves the parson of Buxsted; "Dr. Langdale seems to doubt the existence of this forester, or, at least, he esteemed the tenets of the Protestants as lightly as he did some of the tales connected with him;" [which is almost the very same thing] "but Bailey, in his 'Etymological Dictionary' informs us, 'This Robin Hood was a famous robber, and storied to be an expert archer in the time of King Richard the first, about the year 1200; his principal haunt was about Sherwood Forest, in Nottinghamshire.'—ED." It is too true, and the truth is too often sadly exemplified in party writings, that one man may steal a horse while another must not look over the hedge. Or, may we charitably believe that when the Editor began his labours, he had not formed an acquaintance with the Philologic Nathan, and so passed over unawares, in the very first sheet which he edited, the more palpable scepticism of Fox himself; "as concerning the miracles which are read in the church of Winchester, of this Swithin, them I leave to be read

together with the Iliads of Homer, or the tales of Robin Hood.”—II. 9. Worse than Jacob Bryant.

Vol. VIII. p. 498. We are told that “a certain poor woman, and a silly creature,” left her husband and children, and sought “her living by labour of *spinning* here and there for a time.” She returned, however, but was afterwards accused of heresy and brought before the Bishop of Exeter and his chancellor. “‘Thou foolish woman,’ quoth the Bishop, ‘I hear say that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fie for shame! thou art an unlearned person and a woman. Wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of so high mysteries? Keep thy work and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman’s matter at *cards and tow* to be spoken of,” &c. A pretty long conversation ensued; after which the chancellor and others “persuaded the bishop that she was a mazed creature and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty, and go at large. So the keeper of the bishop’s prison had her home to his house, where she fell to *spinning* and *carding*,” &c. Now, does it seem possible that any body should read all this about the poor woman’s usual occupations, and yet imagine, that when the bishop spoke to this “silly creature” about “cards and tow,” he meant playing at cards and spinning a tee-totum? Yet, that such was the belief of the Editor is attested by his note. “‘Tow’

probably a 'totum;' a kind of die which is whirleed round.—ED."

It may be said that few of the readers of Fox are likely to be so deplorably ignorant as to be misled by these absurd notes. They may show the ignorance and unfitness of the Editor, and the insolent obstinacy of the publishers who kept him through the whole work; though they can scarcely be supposed to be persons so entirely illiterate and friendless, as not to have learned in some way or another that it was impossible, under his management, to fulfil their promise to their subscribers. All this (it may be said) is shown by the notes; but they are too gross, too obviously absurd, to do much mischief.

In this I fully concur, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that they are not brought forward as things likely to do harm. On the contrary, I expect them to do a great deal of good in many different ways. One benefit (which it is most to our present purpose to notice) is, that they tell us at once what it is important that we should know, but might have been some time finding out. They give us, I mean, a pretty clear insight into the character and capability of the Editor, and much more than atone for the evil (if any) which is likely to ensue from their leading those into error who are so ignorant as to be misled by them. Fox's Martyrology, viewed as a history or a document, is no more injured by these silly notes than a lease and release of an estate would be by a

child's endorsing one as Chevy Chase, and the other as the story of Cock Robin; or by the lawyer's clerk giving his private opinion in the margin, that the words "heirs and assigns" meant "hares and rabbits." The owner of the property might be sorry that his deeds had been disfigured by impertinent scribbling, but nobody would dream that his title was affected. The real evil which makes this edition of Fox waste paper is, not that the Editor has given these notes into the bargain along with the text, but that the person who wrote these *notes* has been permitted to go over the *text*, and has exercised *a discretionary power of altering it where and how he pleased*. That he has done so is certain; to what extent can be learned only by actual collation; and the consequence is, that without such collation nobody can tell whether any one sentence which he reads in the new edition is as Fox wrote it, or whether it has been meddled with, modernized, and perhaps unintentionally perverted by the Editor. Absurd as his note upon "tow" is, we must be thankful that he gave it us, instead of tacitly correcting the text to "tee-totum;" for he has elsewhere taken quite as great liberties, founded on as great ignorance, though of course we know not how often.

One must, however, do the Editor the justice to say, that he sometimes pursues a medium course, which has two forms. I will give a specimen of each before I proceed to the subject of tacit alteration.

Vol. VIII. p. 384. We find Thomas Tye reporting to Bishop Bonner, by whom he was employed, that on a certain day "the *aches* took him." This is the Editor's emendation of the text, but he puts a note to tell us that it is "spelt 'axis' in the original." This was in his view (as his pleasant publishers endeavoured to persuade their subscribers that some other things were) a "supposed mis-spelling¹;" and thus he sets matters right, letting us know withal how much we were indebted to him. So we can only be sorry that he exposed his ignorance, and wish that he had let the text alone, and put a note to say, that "axis" or "accesse," in Thomas Tye's day, meant a fit of the ague.

A second form of what may be called a medium course, is to put the proposed emendation in brackets.

Vol. VIII. p. 165. John Careless says, "By these articles, which you have of mine, it doth plainly appear, that though the Arians, Anabaptists, or any other kind of heretic, as you confess those to be, do write against the truth which I hold, doth it therefore follow, that I am a heretic as they be? No, I trow not; but it is rather a plain demonstration that I

¹ The Editor's ideas about spelling seem indeed to be very much like those of his publishers, who would have had it believed that Turin was a mis-spelling of Tours, and Augsburg of Aosta, &c., for in vol. vii. p. 212, he puts a note on the name of one *Glasier* to tell us, that elsewhere it is "spelt *Blaser*," which is very much as if one were to find the name of *Jones* spelt *Evans*.

am a true Christian in that these heretics do so contend against." This the Editor did not understand. He did not see the force of Careless's statement, that his orthodoxy was demonstrated "in *that* [whatsoever it might be, in *that* particular point at least which] those heretics do so contend against." The Editor not understanding this, has added a word which totally alters, or destroys, the sense, and it now stands, "in that these heretics do so contend against [me] ¹."

These, as I have said, are two forms of a medium course, not much more mischievous than the notes, because the Editor furnishes us with the means of correcting his errors. But who is to answer for the corrections *tacitly* made? Made, it is granted, with good intention, but made by mere random guesses of one so ignorant. I have given abundant proof of this in my Letters; but it cannot be too often repeated, that the specimens produced are only such as happen to have been noticed in very cursory inspection, or an accidental collation, when the eye has been caught by some strange word, or unintelligible phrase. Nobody can tell (perhaps least of all the Editor himself) how much the text of the new edition has been changed by intended cor-

¹ I have formerly noticed the Editor's misunderstanding of a similar phrase with similar ill-effect: "According to *that* God hath elected," (which is given as the translation of "*secundum quod Deus elegit*,") he has altered into "according to that God *who* hath elected." Vol. ii. p. 297. See Letters on Fox, p. 24.

rections, or capricious and childish alterations. He, or some one of the more lucky persons unknown, whom he terms his "amanuenses," and who, if we may believe him, have made all the blunders, has apparently crawled over every page, carefully changing *that* into *which*, and *which* into *who*, where modern taste requires it; making all sorts of petty and frivolous alterations, and if the ignorant meddler did not know what a word meant, he substituted the best that he could think of in its place. Often there is nothing to indicate that any alteration has been made in the text; as, for instance, when we read in Vol. VIII. p. 572, (I prefer quoting the more recent volumes, because I have already given so many instances from the more early, and because the publishers boast of the progressive purity of the work,) that Mr. Bertie defended himself "with his dagger and rapier," the thing seems very natural, and excites no suspicion, though if we look at the old text we find that he had a "dagge," that is, a pistol, not a "dagger." But when we read in the same page that his wife (the Duchess of Suffolk) and her woman "were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with *hooks*," we may feel curious to look at the old texts, and there we shall find "*huiks*," which, as Nares would have told the unlucky emender of the text, is "a kind of mantle or cloak worn in Spain and the Low Countries." Again, when at page 561 of the same eighth volume we find that a poor woman "was set and carried the space well

nigh of a mile, by strangers," we may well be puzzled until we turn to the old text, and find that she was "fet;" but the emender appears not to have known that form of "fetched." This almost incredible ignorance of the words and phraseology of his own country, rendered the Editor most unfit for the work which he undertook, and it is impossible to say how many instances actual collation would supply. When he found that "the sayde Oneley (otherwise named Boldingbroke) tooke it upon hys death that they neuer intended any such thing as they were condemned for" (Ed. 1583, p. 703), he seems not to have known what that phrase meant, and so changed the word *it* into *oath*, and it now stands that he "took *oath* upon his death," &c. (Vol. III. p. 707.) Again, there is a story of a poor woman who got her husband into great trouble by longing for sucking-pig in Lent, and who feeling that she was the cause of all the mischief, wished to bear the penance instead of her husband, saying "it was long of her and not of him" (Ed. 1596, p. 1081); but the Editor not understanding his own language, and looking back to the origin of the business, makes us read, "it was *the* long of her and not of him."—Vol. V. p. 386.

Vol. V. p. 395, we have a story of a "ruffian" who "used to go with his hair hanging about his ears, down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner (counterfeiting belike the wild Irishmen, or else *Crimisus the Trojan*, whom Virgil speaketh of), as one weary of his own English fashion." I did not

recollect such a person in Virgil, and turned to the edition of 1596, where instead of "Crimisus the Trojan," I found *Crinitus Ioppas*. The allusion to the *Æn.* I. 744, is plain enough ; but why, in the face of Servius and the Punic History, the editor should make this monarch a Trojan, and so transport "Ilium in Africam," is inconceivable ; and certainly not one of the things "docuit quæ maximus Atlas," supposing the Editor to use one.

Vol. VI. p. 29. "We *cannot but see* that images may be counted marvellous books." At p. 1220, Ed. 1596, it is "We *cannot see but* images," &c.

Ibid. "Would have only your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and *blind* all them which understand not these languages from the knowledge of God's word." The old edition reads "*bind*."

Vol. VI. p. 30. "The magistrate's duty is . . . to *see* and provide," stands (Ed. 1596. 1221.) "to *sit* and provide."

Vol. VIII. p. 206. Perhaps "joys" for "toys" (Ed. 1596, p. 1757) in the margin may be a misprint, though the matter in the text makes it possible that it may have been meant for a correction.

Vol. VIII. p. 402. It may also be mere carelessness that has turned "the sacraments and sacramentals of holy Church" (p. 1826, Ed. 1596) into "the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Ghost."

Vol. VIII. p. 593, is however clearly meant for a

correction. When Dr. Sands was brought prisoner to London, as he came through Tower Hill Street, a woman standing in her door, cried, "Fie on thee, thou knave! thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic!" whereat he smiled; 'Look, the desperate heretic,' said she, 'laughed at this *jeer*.' The edition of 1596, p. 1892, reads "geare," but the editor put out the word which he did not know, and put in one which he did. I hope that he first consulted his friend Bailey, though certainly if he did, "stuff, attire, women's apparel; also harness for draught horses or oxen," was not very promising. If he had turned to Nares, however, he would have found the first meaning, which he gives to be "GEAR or GEER, matter, subject, or business in general."

Vol. VIII. p. 607, that which in the edition of 1596, p. 1896, stands "the *carefull* fear and captivity of their innocent lady," is changed into "*carnal* fear."

Now those who read only the specimens contained in the foregoing pages, and believe (as those who know my engagements while the more recent volumes have been in publication will believe) that they are not the fruit of regular collation, but what have presented themselves when at odd times I have taken up a volume, and dipped into it at random,—those, I say, who believe this, and, still more, those who disbelieve it, if their disbelief should lead them to seek for themselves, will feel that the unhappy publishers, whether deceivers or deceived, are objects

of pity to every Christian, when they read the following paragraph in the notice prefixed to the volume just published :—

“Between their resolving on the publication, and the actual commencement of the printing, very few weeks elapsed. The only thing then aimed at, was, to give Foxe’s History, *as correctly as possible, in the state in which he left it.*

“On the appearance, however, of Volumes II. and III., *printed on this system*¹, an attack was made upon them, grounded on the assumption, that no new edition of Foxe ought to have been produced without a full correction of all his errors. Without admitting the entire justice of this assumption, the Editor and the Proprietors so far endeavoured to meet this new demand as to bring the later volumes under a different system of revision from that which had been adopted in the earlier. In the last *four or five* volumes, they believe they may assume, that not only has Foxe been *printed faithfully*, but most of *his errors corrected* by reference to original sources.”

There is, however, another point on which I wish to offer a few remarks, because a good deal of stress is laid upon it in this new edition; and, whatever suspicion I might entertain, I have not before had it in my power to speak on this subject. Much has

¹ I trust that I have sufficiently exposed the falsehood of this statement; and the pretence that the matters complained of were only such “errors” of Fox as they did not think it worth while to correct, is too barefaced. But I quote the passage here chiefly with reference to the notion that in these more recent volumes, not only the Editor has nothing to apologize for or to cancel, but that Fox’s errors have been completely corrected.

been said about making this a *complete* edition of Fox's Martyrology, by replacing, from the first English edition, what had been dropped in subsequent reprints. As to this matter generally, it was obvious that however curious it might be in an antiquarian or bibliographical point of view, it was likely to be attended with some injury, not to say injustice, to the author. Suppose that at a future time some admirers of Fox should republish "the Standard Edition" of Fox, with a pledge that the hundreds of leaves which have been cancelled shall be restored to their original absurdity, would not that be dealing hard measure to Mr. Cattley and Mr. Townsend?

But whether these things which Fox from time to time omitted, should be replaced or not, nobody will doubt that, if it is done, it should be done correctly. Yet having lately been favoured, by the kindness of Mr. Pickering of Chancery Lane, with a sight of the first English edition of Fox (I am sorry to say at a time when I was so engaged as to be unable to make use of it as much as I could have wished), I have compared some parts, and cannot but express my belief that the matter thus introduced has been very carelessly brought in, and in some places altered very absurdly.

Vol. II. p. 200, there is a copy of the "old laws," in which the Editor seems to have made one or two very unhappy conjectural emendations. One pities the childish taste which, in professing to reprint an old document like this, could make petty variations

such as, for “if any controversy arise,” putting “if any controversy *shall* arise”—for “No Archbishop *or* Bishop *or* person,” putting “No Archbishop *nor* Bishop *nor* person;” and such petty impertinences as transposing words to make them read more pleasantly. But the conjectural emendations are of more importance. The second paragraph begins, “Churches such as be *de feudo Regis*.” The words are, improperly, printed without a space between them; and (as I have noticed in my letters) the Editor has made it “defendo Regis.” How he would have translated this, I do not know; but the alteration in the fifth paragraph is more important. It stands in the first edition, “Such goods or cattall as be forfayted to the king, neyther any *sentuary* of church, or church yard to detayne them.” It would seem as if the editor had never heard of a right of *sanctuary*; but had seen men in red coats with fixed bayonets, who might be mounting guard over goods or cattall pro “defendo regis,” and he has altered the word to “sentry.” What is the value of documents that have been tampered with by such ignorance?

Vol. VII. p. 124. There is a “Te Deum lauding God specially with prayer therein for our Queen Mary,” which forms part of a passage reprinted from the first English edition, p. 1139. In the third verse “*the* heavens” is changed into “*all* heavens.” In the next verse the alteration of “Cherubyn and Seraphyn” was I suppose made by conferring it with the Ebrew, and under an impression that the purity

of the original tongue was of more consequence than the rhyme :

“ First Cherubim and Seraphim
With ardent love entier,
Sing day and night and doth not lin.”

Two verses forward the presence of the article was perhaps thought more important than the metre, and was therefore inserted :

“ Thou art *the* Lord God of Sabaoth,
Of hosts that is to say.”

But one can hardly suppose the various readings in the 9th and 10th verses to be meant for corrections ; the original is as follows :

“ The number passing laudable
Of prophets all and *some*
Set forth thy praise honourable
And sovereign wisdom.
The goodly fellowship so sweet
Of martyrs flourishing,
Lowly kneeling before thy feet
Thy praise doth always *sing*.”

In the new edition, for the three words here printed in *italics*, are substituted the words *sum*, *let*, and *ring*. In the 20th verse “ God *thy* Father ” is changed into “ God *the* Father.” And in the second line of the 27th verse we find the word “ enure ” altered to “ endure,” which is thus put to rhyme to itself.

Vol. V. p. 407, there is a poem of which I have already spoken, and of which I cannot speak again,

without again expressing my surprise that so profane a piece of ribaldry should have been issued by men professing a respect for the Christian religion; but that is their business. In it an image of our crucified Redeemer is thus described according to the new edition :

“ He was made to jogle ;
 His eyes would gogle.
 He wold bend his brows, and frown ;
 With his head he would nod
 Like a proper young god ;
 His shaftes would go up and down.”

On this the Editor puts a note, “ ‘ Shaftes,’ the wooden limbs of the figure.—Ed.” How could he imagine it possible that any one could make a figure representing a human body nailed to the cross, while at the same time the limbs “ would go up and down?” Did he think that he understood it himself? Would it not have been better, was it not his duty, to let alone what he did not understand, instead of boldly changing “ chaftes ” into “ shaftes,” and then making these shafts into limbs, because he did not know that “ chaftes ” is the same as “ chaps?”

On the next page, he has obscured a line by a petty alteration, which shows that he did not understand it himself. When those who have just read his note on the “ wooden limbs of the figure,” come to read, in the same poem,—

“ For when they bored holes
 In the roodes back of poles,”—

they will be more apt to think that the "wooden limbs of the figure" were made of wooden poles, than that the rood belonged to Poles or St. Paul's. I hope Mr. Townsend will excuse my descending to such minute criticism, as to mention the changing a capital letter into a small one; for it is a sad thing to see old documents that are quite obscure enough, made more so by the tampering of ignorance; and this may be done by very petty changes. If people think that it does not matter whether we understand what we read, or whether what we read are really words having meaning, let them say so; but let them not quarrel with those who think otherwise. Will anybody tell me what is the meaning of this passage, which occurs in a letter of Latimer, reprinted from the first edition: speaking of the Bishop of London, he says, "If I would do as some men say my Lord doth, gather up my *joyce*, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor yet otherwise, peradventure he would nothing deny me." Vol. VII. p. 485. I confess that I do not know what Latimer meant by gathering up his "*joyce*," if that is the right reading. On turning to the first edition, I found that there the fourth letter was not a *c*, but an *s*, and whatever the first might be, it certainly was not a *j*. It might, however, be an *i*, for in the copy which I had the opportunity to consult, the letter is so indistinct, that I would not take upon me to decide; but I suspect it is a *t*, and so I came to the word *toyse*.

Of this, however, I could make nothing; but mentioning it to my friend Mr. Haweis, who is, I suppose, one of the most likely persons in the world to know what Latimer and his friends did say, or were likely to say, he suggested that it was probably the provincial pronunciation, (Latimer says, "as we call it,") which was to be thus reduced *toyse, toythes, tythes*. This, of course, was on the supposition that I was correct in taking the first letter for a *t*; if any one who has access to a copy of the first edition, will inform me how it stands there I shall feel much obliged.

I need hardly say, that most, if not all of the passages noticed in these pages, had been observed before the first volume of Fox appeared; and when I had no idea that a supplementary volume would afford so good an opportunity of supplying the subscribers with the means of correcting their books. To these corrections I hope further to contribute, but I have many things on my hands, and Mr. Townsend's performance claims some notice. In the meanwhile I add one observation. The publishers tell us, that they have brought out "the later volumes under a different system of revision from that which had been adopted in the former; but I think, that those who look at some of the things specified in these pages, will not doubt that a very mischievous power was permitted to remain in the same hands throughout. But what the publishers mean is, I believe, that they were obliged to get

Mr. Cattley some better informed assistants, who from time to time furnished him with notes which he could not have written; and he repaid them by printing their (to him) unintelligible learning in such a way as must needs make them ashamed of their performances, and perfectly satisfied with the “vos non vobis” system, under which everything good and bad was claimed by the “ED.” Certainly even this assistance has too often given him additional opportunities of displaying his ignorance in other cases beside that of Trithemius.

Take for instance a note which occurs at Vol. VI. p. 409, and which, considering that it is merely appended to a statement, that Philpot vouched the major of his argument “out of Vigilius, an ancient writer,” contains more learning on the subject than most Editors would have thought necessary. It is as follows:—

“Vigilius was bishop of Thapsus, and flourished about the year 500, or earlier; his treatise against Eutyches is included in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, as in the first Paris collection, vol. v. pp. 567—584, where it is incorrectly assigned to Vigilius, bishop of Trent. His works have been published in a collected form by Chifflet; Divione, 1665. He also published separately, the treatise here referred to. Tiguri, 1539; also Basileæ, 1571. See Oudin. *Comment. de Scrip. Eccles.* tom. i. col. 1320; also Walchii *Biblioth.*—Pat. p. 611. Jenæ, 1834; and Rivet’s *Critici Sacri*, lib. iv. cap. 28.—ED.”

Father Chifflet certainly lived to a great age; but did he really republish, at Dijon, in 1665, a work which he had published at Zurich, one hundred and

twenty years before? But it is rather of the general look of the note as it stands in the book, that I now speak. Will anybody, for instance, who sees the reference to Walch's book, believe that the person who superintended the printing had ever seen it, or knew what the reference meant?

Take again, a note which stands thus at Vol. VI. p. 372.

"Legimus et circa annos christianæ salutis 500, fere, jam institutas Epistolas in officio Missali, etc.—Pet. Ciruelus Darocensis in Expositio libri Missalis (complete 1528) in epist. nuncup. [Peter Ciruelo was a native of Daroca, in Arragon, and became canon of Salamanca, and then professor of theology, at Alcala de Henares. See also Antonio, Biblioth. Hispana nova, tom. ii. p. 185. Matriti, 1788.—ED.]"

It will be observed that this note is partly Fox's and partly editorial. We are at present concerned with the latter, which is twofold, and consists of first an insertion or interpolation in a parenthesis, and secondly, an addition between brackets. Both, I presume, were furnished to the Editor by some better informed assistant, who unfortunately neglected to inform him of the connexion between them, by telling him that the Latin name for *Alcala de Henares* was *Complutum*. How then was the editor to guess that the parenthesis contained the name of the place where Peter was professor, and where his book was printed? Who ever heard of such a word as *Compluti* in any language or any polyglot? Could he suppose it was anything but *complete*, and meant to indicate

that the book was published all at once in 1528, and not in numbers, as he had proposed to publish "Fox's Martyrs¹." No: many are the marks of ignorance which these better informed assistants have elicited from the Editor. I do not mean to blame them; but at the same time, who can believe that, if they had not set him on, the Editor would have talked of any one of the persons whom he calls Audin, Sledian, Sleiden, Hardwine, Labbé, Beatus Rheananus, Genebard, Possuevinus, Montfauçon, Balurius, Opirinus, Chocleus or Cholceus, Gearsonus, or Waldanus. I shall perhaps be told that these are "supposed misspellings;" but every man who has paid any attention to the matter, is aware that one of the surest criteria by which to judge of a writer's information, is to be found in his references.

¹ It is curious, and characteristic of the work, that neither the Editor nor his informant seem to have observed a fact, of which it was much more incumbent on them to have informed the reader, than it was to provide him with biographical or bibliographical information respecting Petrus Ciruelus, namely, that the scrap of Latin given in the note is grossly misrepresented in the text;—"Legimus et circa annos Christianæ salutis 500, fere, jam institutas epistolas in officio missali."—"We read that about 500 years since almost the epistle,' saith he, 'was brought into the Mass.'" Whether the Epistle formed a part of the Mass about the 500th year of the Christian era, or 500 years before Peter's complete work was published in 1528, may make some difference in the argument.

NOTES.

NOTE A, on Page 9.

As I have already said, the question whether Fox copied from Illyricus, and indeed the whole question of his use of authorities, belongs to Mr. Townsend rather than to Mr. Cattley; but as the latter gentleman has chosen to enter on it, and, in fact, it is the only thing in his "Defence" which seems to require any answer from me, I have thought it best to reply to it in these Remarks, and to say something respecting Mr. Townsend's notice of the subject in a note. It is rather a curious circumstance, that just after I had written what is in the text, a friend came into my room, took up the volume, and while I was engaged about something else, read the following passage, with its note, from p. 234.

"With respect, however, to the accusation that Foxe borrowed his account of the Waldenses from Illyricus, an examination of the facts of the case would rather make us believe that Illyricus and Foxe both borrowed from some common document. With respect also to the supposition—that Illyricus, rather than Foxe, is entitled to the appellation of founder of that school of church history, which made the holy Catholic Church, not necessarily identified with the church of Rome—there appears to be sufficient evidence to render it very probable, that *Illyricus was indebted to Foxe, rather than Foxe to Illyricus.*

"In the year 1554, Foxe, as we have seen, made his escape from the anticipated persecutions of Mary, taking with him the manuscripts and collectanea, which enabled him to publish his first edition of the History of the Church, at Strasburg*. The Catalogus Testium of M. F. Illyricus was printed in 1556, two years after the publication of the first edition of the work of Foxe. The Martyrologist, therefore, is not likely to have borrowed from Illyricus."

* See Watts's Bibliotheca, vol. i. p. 383. The book was published under this title :—*'Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, et Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insigniora exempla sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes.'*—8vo. Strasburg, 1554."

Without knowing what I had just been writing about Fox's copying from Illyricus, he was induced to read this note to me, by his not being able to satisfy himself respecting the Latin; and

in particular, the *digesti* appeared to disagree with him, as, indeed, it seemed as if there was nothing with which it would or could agree. Perhaps, being a fellow of the noble College of which Mr. Townsend still writes himself a member, he was scandalized at what bore such marks of ignorance. Be this as it may, in my own mind, the effect was different. So many new ideas were raised, that I hardly know which I thought of first. It was very amazing to find the biographer and vindicator of Fox, after years of travail, going to such an authority as Watts's *Bibliotheca Britannica* for the title of the *editio princeps* of his great work, the only one by which he is known. Stranger still, that he should be so satisfied with such a barbarous and ungrammatical title as to print and publish it. Yet more wonderful, that he should allow himself to be put off with the title of the *second* edition, instead of the very different title of the *first*. Most marvellous of all, that he should, with innocent and ignorant simplicity, not only imagine, but ground an argument on the assumption, that what I quoted from the English edition, was, as a matter of course, in the Latin edition of 1554. His argument implies and absolutely requires this ignorance; for it is simply, that Fox, who published in 1554, could not borrow from a book published in 1556¹.

I did not enter much into the subject with my friend; but as both the *first* and *second* editions were in the room, it was easy to show him that Mr. Townsend, while looking for the title of the *first* edition (Strasburg, 1554), had been put off with a faulty copy of the title of the *second* (Basil, 1559) which is as follows;—

“Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insignioris exempli sint,

¹ The absurdity of this assumption, and the ignorance which it displays of the small beginning and gradual increase of Fox's work may be made apparent to those who have never seen the books, by stating that my copy of Fox, from which, I presume, I copied the account of the Waldenses, weighs eighteen pounds; the little Strasburg book of 1554 (which was printed before the book of Illyricus, and which, it was taken for granted, contained all that the others did) does not weigh eleven ounces.

digesti per Regna et Nationes commentarii. Pars prima, in qua primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis, atque in primis de horrenda sub Maria nuper regina, persecutione, narratio continetur. Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basilee, per Nicolaum Brylingerum et Joannem Oporinum."

The title of the Strasburg book, if Mr. Townsend had happened to know it, would, perhaps, have saved this exposure of his ignorance; for it clearly professes to begin its history from and after the time of Wicliffe; and, therefore, it might have been suspected that it did not contain the history of the Waldenses. It is as follows:—

"Chronicon Ecclesie, continens historiam rerum gestarum maximarumque per totam Europam Persecutionum a Viclevi temporibus usque ad nostram etatem. Authore Joanne Foxo. Hiis in calce accesserunt Aphorismi Joannis Viclevi cum collectaneis quibusdam Reginaldi Pecoki Episcopi Cicestrensis. Item *Οπιστογραφία* quedam ad Oxonienses. Argentorati. Excudebat Josias Richelius. Anno M.D.LXIII." [erroneously for M.D.LIIII.]

These titles I showed to my friend; and, when he was gone, I thought it would be right to append to what I had written some sort of reply to this broad charge of ignorance, which Mr. Townsend had seen fit to make against me on the strength of what he is pleased to call "an examination of the facts of the case." It is obviously the plain sort of charge which is comprehended and remembered and repeated by every body. "Only think how stupid and ignorant in Mr. Maitland to charge Fox with copying from a book in 1554, that which was not published till 1556." Those who would not pretend to give an opinion on the general question, could see this plain enough. Such advantage bold ignorance always has in controversy; and it is only by patient exposure that it can be met. But my friend had shut the book, and I was too little acquainted with it to know where to find the note which he had been reading.

In turning over the leaves, however, I found another note on p. 288.

"Since I wrote my remarks on Mr. Dowling, who considers Illyricus and not Foxe to be the father of ecclesiastical history, I have procured the collation of the first edition of Foxe's work, published in 1556, with that of 1559, and with Illyricus, and find that I have been misled in the supposi-

tion, that the account of the Waldenses was in that edition. It first appeared in 1559, after the Catalogue of Illyricus had been published ; not before, as I had been informed."

When Mr. Townsend found out his mistake, did not common honesty require him to make some kind of reference to his contradiction of my suggestion, and his argument founded upon it ? Let it pass. How long after the other note this one was written, I cannot tell ; but I presume, that if it had not been after the former note was actually in print, that note would not have appeared. It seems, therefore, to show, that up to the time when the former note was in print, and probably up to the present moment, Mr. Townsend's acquaintance with the two first editions of the Martyrology is simply derived from what he calls "a collation," received after the first note was printed, and bearing very suspicious marks of having been furnished by his kinsman, or some of his unhappy "amanuenses," who are continually performing such works of art as turning 1554 into 1556, and other little things which cavillers lay hold of.

But really, in writing this note, I am very much in the condition in which Mr. Townsend has been while writing his contributions to Fox ; that is, in the predicament of a school-boy who is learning his lesson while he is saying it ; for almost every word of the preceding lines had been written when I most accidentally opened the book at p. 76, where Mr. Townsend says of Fox :—

"The first part of his great work was published at Strasburg, after he left Frankfort, and before he arrived at Basil. These circumstances enable us to ascertain that the materials must have been collected, and the MS. prepared, during his residence in Reigate. It exhibits no signs of having been hastily written, as it must have been if it had been prepared while he was travelling on the continent. It was written in Latin. Its title was 'Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, a Wiclefi temporibus usque ad annum M.D.' and was published at Strasburg, 1554, towards the end of which year the author probably left England. It contains the ecclesiastical history of two hundred years ; and it was as copious an account of that most interesting period as any which had then been published."

It will be observed, that in this *earlier* notice Mr. Townsend speaks critically, and gives us his opinion of the book as if he was acquainted with it. But if so, how could he give such an

erroneous account of its title? In the errata, however, referring to the first sentence of it, we find the following notice :—

“ This is not quite correct. The *Commentarii* were published in 1554, and therefore before he had left Frankfort ¹, as is said in the previous sentence. See p. 80.”

And when we turn to p. 80, we find that “ he proceeded by slow stages to Strasburg, where he committed to the press the first part of his labours,” and on it the following note :—

“ The book was printed in Latin under the title, ‘ *Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei, per Regna et Nationes.*’ Strasburg. 1554. 8vo.”

Here is another blundering, ungrammatical extract from the title of the *second* edition, given as the title of the first edition, and referred to with confidence and complacency in the table of “ *Addenda et Corrigenda*,” which we may suppose to contain the most mature fruits of Mr. Townsend’s research.

¹ This is not the place for criticism on the biographical part of Mr. Townsend’s contributions ; but they partake of an infirmity which I have had occasion to remark upon in the work to which they are prefixed ; namely, that in quoting a passage to set right one mistake, one is too often obliged either to notice, or to seem to acquiesce in, one or two others of a different kind. Mr. Townsend’s attempt to correct a very gross and ignorant misstatement, is itself an error quite as gross, if not more so. He says, that Fox “ probably” left England at “ the *end*” of the year 1554 ; when, if he had known this first edition, the style of which he criticises, he would have seen that the prefatory epistle was dated from Strasburg, 31st August, 1554 ; and Fox’s complaint, that the bookseller’s anxiety to be in time for the fair had allowed him only two months to prepare the volume, seems to intimate that he had been there during at least that period : “ *Rursus nec amplius bimestri spatio ante nundinas Frankfordianas mihi concedebatur ad hæc ex rudi ac informi sylvula recolligenda,*” p. 206. *b.* But the important point to be observed is, that the Strasburg book was *not* printed “ after he left Frankfort,” nor “ before he had left Frankfort,” except inasmuch as it was printed before he went to Frankfort at all. Whether he accompanied his booksellers to the fair, I know not, but I believe the first proof of his being there is his signature to a letter written at Frankfort, dated the 3rd December, (Troub. of Fr. p. xxv.) and he seems to have remained at Frankfort until Aug. 31, 1555, when adhering to the more violent party in the schism which took place, he seceded with them ; or, to use the language of the ‘ *Troubles of Frankfort*,’ “ The oppressed church departed from Frankfort to Basil and Geneva, some staying at Basil, as Maister Fox with other,” p. lxx.

This is a strange way of writing biography, especially the life of a man whose life would probably never have been written at all, but for the work of which his biographer so blunders the title and confounds the editions.

Perhaps some where or other in Mr. Townsend's contributions there is (I believe there ought to be) another note telling his readers that his correction in the note on p. 288 is a blunder, and that the account of the Waldenses is no more in the edition of 1559 than in that of 1554.

NOTE B, on Page 11.

I was unwilling to encumber the text with a note not exactly relating to the matter in hand ; but yet I think it right to notice the disingenuous manner in which Mr. Cattley represents this little affair. He says, "excepting the parenthesis, 'for he took away the marriage of priests.'" Mr. Cattley knows that this was not *all* the parenthesis. He knows that he has here suppressed the particular words which made his blunder so gross and obvious. My remark upon it was : "The words 'for he took away the marriage of priests, as Henry Mutius witnesseth,' are, in the Edition of 1583, inclosed in a parenthesis, which the Editor of the new edition has removed. That he observed the name is plain, for with that petty tampering which seems to have been his principal employment as editor, he has turned Henricus into Henry, without attempting to translate the other half of the man's name, or testifying the least surprise at finding him in a decree of a Council held in 1080."—*Review*, p. 51.

THE END.



A REVIEW

OF

FOX THE MARTYROLOGIST'S

HISTORY OF THE

WALDENSES.

BY THE REV. S. R. MAITLAND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. G. AND F. RIVINGTON:

AND T. JEW, GLOUCESTER;

BY L. BRYANT; AND SOLD BY

STRONG, BRISTOL AND EXETER; AND MILLIKEN, DUBLIN.

1837.



REVIEW, &c.

THOSE who are endeavouring to understand the history of the Waldenses, must have appreciated the papers which appeared in the appendix to the *Christian Observer* for the year 1835, and in the numbers for the following February and July, under the signature of Arnaud de Bonneville, or A. D. B.; and those who were really interested in the subject, and anxious that truth should prevail, must have been grieved that the editor should not only have declined making his Magazine the channel for the publication of such valuable matter, but that he should have represented to his readers that he was, out of compassion to them, going to “break off this minute discussion respecting early Waldensian dates.” *July*, p. 407. The discussion was about no such thing. In fact, the Waldensian controversy (considering how many dates of an obscure period do come into it) is remarkably free from such discussions; for even when it happens that there is a difference of statement—as for instance, whether Waldo began preaching in 1160, 1170, or 1180—it is seldom that any writer has pretended that it is of the least consequence which is right. Many of the dates it may be impossible to settle; but it is almost as impossible to make their uncertainty affect the argument. The real matter in dispute is

vastly different. The question is, what was the real origin, life, and doctrine, of a sect which has been represented by many writers as the true Church of Christ, to the almost entire exclusion of all other people on earth—as the apocalyptic witnesses—as those from whom we of the Church of England should joyfully reckon our descent—as our protestant forefathers—in short, the question is anything but one of minute chronology; it respects the facts of history, and the knowledge and fidelity of historians, who have obtained a degree of authority which renders the question very important.

In the remarks, however, with which he dismissed what he thus misrepresented, the Editor brought forward an authority who has not been, I believe, very often cited in this controversy. He says “we certainly do not wish A. D. B. to accept of Fox as an original authority any more than Thuanus (though Fox was Thuanus’s senior by thirty-six years, having been born in 1517), but he *could not* in *honesty* have attested that Waldo’s ‘doings’ were then extant in ‘old parchment monuments’, if he *had not proof of the fact.*” He tells us that “Fox, in a *laborious examination* of testimony, when the facts were comparatively recent, and ‘parchment monuments’ were still he says in existence, comes to the conclusion that Waldo was fully competent to translate the word of God into his vernacular tongue, and that he did so”—that a certain confession, to which Fox makes no allusion, “*could not* have escaped his scrutiny if it was in existence”—he calls for an examination of the martyrologists’ statements, and boldly asks “Does Fox falsify, or unfairly abridge, or partially select documents?”

This challenge I feel bound to accept; for after attempting to turn the controversy into a channel which seemed to me more likely to lead to truth, by referring, and confining, it to the “original authorities,” from which alone modern writers

can pretend to know anything about the matter, I begin to think that the only way is, specifically to meet new and popular statements, in the hope that as they are exposed and refuted, people may begin to creep back to original sources, and so come at truth—that readers may see how they are hoaxed by ignorant pretenders, and that even some of the pretenders themselves may become ashamed of the nonsense which they have been led to write, by relying on modern authorities, which have misled them. I am fully aware that this is a wearisome, and ungracious task; for it is one of the contrivances of ignorance to shelter itself behind popular names, because if it turns out that what has been recklessly asserted cannot be maintained, it may, instead of retracting, throw odium upon its opponents, and raise an Ephesian uproar against the blasphemers of its idol. Such clamour it is easy to despise; but in this case, I may hope that it will not be raised; for nobody can deny that if Fox's character for fidelity or knowledge, should suffer from this review of his history of the Waldenses, it is not my fault. I am not going out of my way to attack him; but answering a plain question put by the editor of the *Christian Observer* in a controversy, in which my name and my statements on the subject have been repeatedly mentioned. I feel called upon to take some notice of the question; and I hope to enable the reader to judge, not only of the answer which should be given to it, but of the qualification of the writer who asked it, and of the propriety of his interfering in the controversy.

I should have done this before, but that just at the same time that this paper appeared, I saw the prospectus of a new edition of Fox; the one being in the *Christian Observer* for July, 1836, and the other stitched up in another magazine for the same month. "It will be their object," say the publishers, "in pursuit of which no pains or expense will be spared, to render this edition the most perfect that has yet

appeared. The various editions will be collated; the latest corrections of the author introduced; while the errors which have crept into the copies published after his decease will be removed. They are happy to be able to state that they are enabled to calculate on the most important assistance in the facilities offered by Public Libraries, and also in the access given to the best copies of the work which are known to be extant in the hands of private individuals." They afterwards say that "the general superintendence of the work, and its accurate and faithful performance," will be undertaken by the editor "with the aid of able and experienced assistants."

After such an announcement, it seemed to me that it would be premature, and almost unfair, to publish anything relating to Fox's work, until I should see the new edition, and learn how far the errors of the old ones, to which I had access, (those of 1596 and 1684) were corrected. It is now published; and a letter has appeared in the Record newspaper for the 16th of January, signed by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, and the Rev. Charles Bridges, in which they say, "We have the best evidence that the publishers were guided by no selfish motives in undertaking the work, and that they have spared no pains or expense in securing the most able assistance for the prosecution of it." I do not know what evidence these gentlemen refer to; but certainly it is not internal evidence. The volume itself testifies, indeed, the taste and liberality of the publishers and the skill of the printer; but without some external evidence, indeed without some evidence directly opposed to that which is furnished by the volume itself, it would be difficult to believe that where neither pains nor expense were spared, more able assistance in the editorial department might not have been obtained. Here, however, it is of more immediate importance to notice what these gentlemen say of the work

itself, than of the new edition of it. They state that they feel it an "exercise of Christian responsibility to call the public attention to it" for five reasons; one of which is, "the high character of the work for *accuracy of detail*." Will they give me credit for a similar motive when I say, that if Fox's work has any such character (which I really did not know that it had) it is, as relates to all that I have examined, quite undeserved? Will they believe my assurance that I feel it a matter of duty, especially now that they have given their sanction to the character which they state that Fox has obtained for 'accuracy of detail,' to take up the Editor of the Christian Observer's question, and to shew that the attempt to set up Fox as an authority—not indeed, as he humourously observes, as an "*original authority*," but as an authority of any kind—is perfectly absurd?

To come then at once to Fox's History of the Waldenses—or rather to begin with three paragraphs by which he introduces it, and from which we may more clearly ascertain the source from which he derived it, and the manner in which he compiled it:

"In the time of this Alexander sprang up the doctrine and name of those, who were then called 'pauperes de Lugduno,' who, from one Waldus, a chief senator in Lyons, were named 'Waldenses;' also 'Leonistæ' and 'Insabbatati:' about A.D. 1109, or, as Laziardus writeth, 1170."

On this it may be sufficient to remark that the 6 appears to have jumped over the 0, and alighted on his head. No one, I think, can doubt from what follows that Fox originally wrote, or meant to write, 1160. But it stands so in the editions of 1596, 1684; and, for any thing that I know, in all others.

The next paragraph is little more than a translation of that with which Mathias Flacius Illyricus, as he called himself (or plainly Matthew Francowitz), began the article "Valdenses" at p. 704 of his 'Catalogus Testium Veritatis;' which was printed in the year 1556, three years before the

publication of Fox's first edition. How much Fox was indebted to this writer, whose name he does not mention, and to whose work he gives no reference whatever, throughout his whole history of the Waldenses, will be seen as we proceed. In order that it may appear more clearly, I shall give Fox's text as it stands in the new edition, and that of Illyricus from the edition of 1556, in parallel columns :—

Not long before this time, as is expressed above, rose up Gratian, master of the decrees, and Peter the Lombard, master of the sentences, both archpillars of all papistry ; after whom followed also two as evil, or worse than they, Francis and Dominic, maintaining blind hypocrisy, no less than the other maintained proud prelacy. As these laboured one way, by superstition and worldly advancement, to corrupt the sincerity of religion, so it pleased Christ, the contrary way, labouring against these, to raise up therefore the said Waldenses against the pride and hypocrisy of the others. p. 263.

Videor mihi animadvertere, et Deum et satanam sub idem tempus, eadem consilia instaurandi confirmandi; suum costum et religionem agitasse. Nam ante quadringentos annos, et Satan quatuor quosdam apostolos, veluti quatuor suæ impietatis columnas excitavit, qui suum Antichristum ejus que abominationes egregie confirmarunt, stabilierunt que: et Christus suam religionem Antichristi abominationibus mundatam, mundo denuo exhibuit, ac ostendit. Quatuor illi Satanæ apostoli, qui ante 400 annos papatum egregie confirmarunt, ac veluti a fundamentis instaurarunt, fuerunt: primum Gratianus Decreti collector, et Petrus Lombardus, qui Magister sententiarum vulgo a sophistis vocatur: quorum uterque partim ex sacris literis, partim et multo magis ex patribus, ac conciliis mala fide collectis, peiorique interpretatis ac detorti sententias, papisticam religionem probare, stabilireque sunt conati. Deinde Franciscus et Dominicus, qui instituta nova hypocrisis monachatus, homines etiam quam quisquam ante, superstitionibus præsumpserunt dementare. Porro Christus potissimum per quemdam Petrum Vualdum Lugduni primum civem, suam veritatem, depulsis Antichristi tenebris (ut postea clarius apparebit) illustravit. p. 704.

The next paragraph is as follows :—

“ Thus we never see any great corruption in the church, but that some sparkle of the true and clear light of the gospel yet by God's providence doth remain ; whatsoever the Doctors Augustinus, Reinerius, Sylvius, and Cranzius, with others in their popish histories, do write of them, defaming them through misreport, and accusing them to magistrates as disobedient to orders, rebels to the catholic church, and contemners of the Virgin Mary, yet they who carry judgment indifferent, rather trusting truth than wavering with the times, in

weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise, and that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church. And yet I suppose not contrary, but as the papists did with the articles of Wickliff and Huss, so they did in like manner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise than they were meant."

The only observation which it is necessary to make on this paragraph—but it is one most important as it regards the character of Fox for knowledge and fidelity—is that in thus introducing his history of the Waldenses, he distinctly states, that "they maintained NOTHING ELSE but the SAME DOCTRINE which is NOW defended in the Church." Let this be borne in mind while we examine the history itself;—

The history of the Waldenses, concerning their original and doctrine, with their persecutions.

The first original of these Waldenses, came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no less calling in the city of Lyons, the occasion whereof is declared of divers writers thus to come.

About A.D. 1160, it chanced that divers of the best and chiefest heads of the city of Lyons, talking and walking in a certain place after their old accustomed manner, especially in the summer-time, conferred and consulted together upon matters, either to pass over time, or to debate things to be done; amongst whom it chanced for one (the rest looking on) to fall down by sudden death. In the number of these this aforesaid Waldus, there being amongst them, was one; who, beholding the matter more earnestly than the others, and terrified with so heavy an example, being, as it is said, a rich man, and God's Holy Spirit working withal, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration, with a careful study to reform his former life; insomuch that he began first to minister large alms of his goods to such as needed: secondly, to instruct himself and his family in the true knowledge of God's word: thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him on any occasion, to repentance and virtuous amendment of life.

Illyricus.

Accidit autem ea doctrinæ religionisq; Christianæ instauration, ut multi historici testantur, hoc modo :

Circa Annum Domini 1160, fuerunt Lugduni aliquot optimates, quodam loco congregati, conferentes de variis rebus : ut solent sæpe, præsertim æstatis tẽpore, in Italia et Gallia in porticibus magnates convenire dispellendi tædii causa, ac colloquendi cum aliis sui ordinis viris. Ibi dum illi ociosi sermones cedunt, accidit, ut subito unus spectantibus omnibus aliis mortuus corrueret. Eo tam triste exemplo fragilitatis humanæ divinæq; iræ perterritus ac commotus unus ex illis nomine Vualdus, homo prædives, hand dubie impellente eum etiam Dei spiritu, cœpit cogitare de pœnitentia agenda, ac vera pietate aliquanto magis serio colenda, quam ante fecerat. Cœpit igitur et eleemosynas largius distribuere, et se suamq; domum, ac eos qui eum aliquando quacunq; occasione accedebant, docere et admonere de pœnitentia ac vera pietate.

Thus, partly through his large giving to the poor, and partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did see ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French tongue, for as he was a man wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned.

Although Laziardus Volateranus, with others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him; by others, who have seen his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and to translate the books of Scripture, and also did collect the doctors' mind upon the same.

Progrediente paulatim tum beneficentia ejus in egenos tum ipsius studio docendi, aliorumq; discendi, jam etiam frequentior cœtus ad eum ventitare cœpit: et ipse eis non suas aliquas regulas, suiq; capitis somnia dictare, sed sacras literas tum explicando declarare, tum in vulgarem Gallicam linguam transferre.

Fuit enim homo doctus, ut ex vetustis membranis cognosco: et non curavit sibi ab aliis verti, ut quidam veritatis inimici mentiuntur. p. 706.

I scarcely need say that this is mere translation from Illyricus. This is evident from a mere glance at the two; but I apprehend that it further appears from a circumstance which ought to be noticed. The Editor of the *Christian Observer* says, "in his first volume (p. 260), he had given, from 'divers writers,' 1160 as the date of Waldo's remarkable conversion," &c., *July, p. 407*. Now it is obvious that Fox's "divers writers," is a mere translation of Illyricus's "multi historici;" and though I do not pretend to say that there may not be "divers writers" who relate the story as Illyricus does, yet I must say that I do not remember to have met with them, and I believe that the story, as told by Illyricus, was made entirely from the plain statement of Reinerius that, "when the principal citizens of Lyons were together, it occurred that one died suddenly in the presence of the others, whereby one of them was so alarmed that he immediately distributed a large property to the poor." *

* "Cum cives majores pariter essent in Lugduno contingit quendam ex eis mori subito coram eis. Unde quidam inter eos tantum fuit territus, quod statim magnum thesaurum pauperibus erogavit."

As to the "old parchment monuments"—the editor of the *Christian Observer* says that Fox "could not in *honesty* have attested that Waldo's doings were then extant in 'old parchment monuments,' if he had not proof of the fact; and as the passage happened to fall under our hands while we were writing, we noticed it as a grain in the balance of evidence respecting what Mr. Maitland justly calls 'one of the best authenticated facts' in Waldo's history—namely, his translating the scriptures—of course not the whole, but portions of them." *July, p. 407.* This, as every one who turns to the passage which the editor quotes may see, is a misrepresentation of my statement on the very point here in question. I said "if these 'ancient Vallenses' had this confession [of 1120, which speaks of reading the scriptures and even the apocrypha to the people] cut and dry, at least forty years, before he began his Christian labours, why, in all the world, did that good man trouble himself to make a translation of the Scriptures? Yet, that he did this, is perhaps, one of the best authenticated facts of his history." * Had these words stood alone, there might have been some ground for representing me as contending that Waldo himself translated the scriptures; but, in fact, I went on to state what I meant by Waldo's troubling "himself to make a translation," by adducing the testimony of Stephen of Bourbon. That writer, who died in 1261, tells us that the very thing which set Waldo on the translation of the Gospels which he used to hear, was that he did not himself understand them—that he therefore engaged a priest named Stephanus de Ansa, or Emsa, to translate them into the vulgar tongue—that this Stephen de Emsa did so translate them, and dictated them to one Bernardus Ydros, who was then a young man, and was hired as a scribe on the occasion, but afterwards came to

* Facts and Doc. p. 127.

be considerably respected (*satis honoratus*) in Lyons—and that he himself (Stephen of Bourbon, who tells the story) had often seen Stephen de Emsa the translator, had the story from Bernard Ydros the scribe, and had heard the account of the origin of the sect from many persons who had seen the earlier members of it. On this ground I say that Waldo's troubling himself to make a translation of the Scriptures, is one of the best authenticated facts of his history; but certainly I never meant to convey the idea that he did himself make it, but immediately went on to say what I have here stated, and what is, I think, most convincing evidence that Waldo did not, and could not, do it; and that the attempt to set him up as a learned man, is a mere matter of sectarian nonsense. What the Editor means by a "balance of evidence" I do not know; nor can I guess where he can look for any evidence of Waldo's ability to translate which can weigh for a moment against the plain and pointed testimony of Stephen of Bourbon.

But what will the Editor do about Fox's honesty, which he has so rashly staked? Will he deny that he was copying Illyricus? It seems quite impossible? Will he maintain that Illyricus meant us to understand (as Fox evidently did) that he had seen Waldo's 'doings' in old parchments? Surely not—for at p. 722, he laments that no ancient writings, not merely of Waldo, but of the sect, were in existence—a very awkward declaration for those who undertake to maintain the Noble Lesson, and the Confession of 1120, and all the *Bibliotheca Morlandiana*; but so it is—"Valde mirum ac dolendum est *nullum paulo vetustius eorum scriptum extare*."

I may add that the sentence respecting Laziardus and Volateranus (who, for want of a comma, look like one person in the new edition,) is, as far as I know, Fox's own, and he is speaking of two modern writers whose works I suppose that he had really seen. At least I see nothing of them in that

part of Illyricus which Fox continues to follow :—

But whatsoever he was, lettered or unlettered, the bishops and prelates seeing him so to intermeddle with the Scriptures, and to have such resort about him, albeit it was but in his own house, under private conference, could neither abide that the Scriptures should be declared by any other, nor would they take the pains to declare them themselves. So, being moved with great malice against the man, they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leave off so to do. Waldus, seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred up upon no just nor godly cause, neglecting the threatenings and frettings of the wicked, said, that 'God must be obeyed more than man.'

To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of Antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceness increased; insomuch that when they did see their excommunication to be despised, and would not serve, they ceased not with prison, with sword, and with banishment, to persecute, till at length they had driven both Waldus, and all the favourers of his true preaching, out of the city.

Episcopus porro et prælati, qui, ut Christus inquit, claves regni cœlorum abstulerunt, ac nec ipsi intrare nec alios intromittere volunt, ægre ferentes hominem laicum et secularem (ut isti spiritualis clericatusq; nomine gloriantes, tumentesq; alios Christianos præ se contemnunt) sacras literas in vulgarem sermonem vertere, docendo declarare, et jam etiam quasi cœtus quosdam domi suæ habere, eiq; concionari: primum monuerunt eum, ejusq; sectatores, ut ab instituto desisterent: addita etiam excommunicationis comminatione. Verum nec ipsius studium promovendæ gloriæ Dei, salutisq; proximi: nec fames verbi Dei, qua pusilli Christi nemine alioqui in templis verbum Dei syncere docente, laborabant, talibus pharisæorum et pontificum mandatis cohereri poterat. Dicebat enim doctor et auditores, Deo magis quam hominibus obediendum esse..... Cermentes itaq; Episcopus ac ejus pharisæi et scribæ, Valdi ejusq; sectatorum in docendo ac discendo Dei verbo constantiam, quam illi pertinaciam esse calumniabantur: dolentes etiam suas turpitudines, inscitiam, negligentiam in docendo, et aliquos etiam errores ab eis taxari, excommunicaverunt eos omnes simul. Aliquanto vere post, cum illos ne excommunicatione quidem moveri cernerent, ut a suo proposito desisterent, etiam exilio, carceribus, ferro demum ac igni persequi, et crudeliter vexare cœperunt: ut necessitate, præsentiq; periculo coacti sint Lugduno discedere, ac in varias terras diffugere et dilabi.

Fox proceeds :—

Hereupon came first their name, that they were called 'Waldenses,' or 'Pauperes de Lugduno,' not because they would have all things common amongst them, or that they, professing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the apostles did, as Sylvius did falsely belie them, but because they, being thrust out both of country and goods, were compelled to live poorly, whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I find in order and in number to be these :—

Before I make any other remark on this passage I must, for two reasons, give the two paragraphs of Illyricus, which immediately follow what I have just quoted from him. First, because one of them contains the original of Fox's statement respecting their name; and secondly, because they are both so characteristic of the writer whom Fox appears to have followed, as blindly as the Editor of the *Christain Observer* has followed Fox. It is quite clear that Illyricus was making up a story of what he considered, or chose to set forth, as probabilities 'Credibile est'—'verisimile est'—'procul dubio,' are forms of speech in which he delights.

"Credibile est aliquot annis, forte quatuor aut quinque, eum cœtum durasse, ac Valdum docuisse, priusquam plane Lugduno pellerentur ac dissiparentur. Nam et Valdis vir potens fuit, multosque eum amicos ac cognatos habuisse verisimile est: eoque non tam facile opprimi potuit, nec etiam initio statim durius sacrificos Papæ vexavit, denique nondum erat inducta in Christianitatem ista plusquam barbarica et ethnica crudelitas, in pios tam atrociter grassandi, quam nunc inquisitores passim exercent, quamque potissimum immitissimis istis lupis, pellibus ovium indutis qui se Monachos vocant, debemus: ut taceam illud quod in hac re præcipuum est quod Deus suis, ante persecutionem, diacendi spacium ac commoditatem benigne solet concedere.

"Quo tempore proculdubio Valdis et discipulos aliquot egregios ita edocuit ac erudiit, ut ei collegæ esse, officioque docendi recte fungi possent: et doctrinam suam constituisse, seu (ut rectius dicam) Christi doctrinam ac religionem pharisaico Antichristi fermento repurgasse, erroresque ac superstitiones Papæ ac Papistarum inotasse, indicasse et refutasse. Appellati porro sunt non tantum Vualdenses illi homines, sed etiam Pauperes de Lugduno, Leonistæ, et Insabbatati: varia enim illis nomina ab adversariis indita sunt. Atque hæc de ortu, seu potius institutione hujus veræ Christi religionis ac doctrinæ. Nam etiam adversarii quidam eorum scribunt, alios dicere, inde a Sylvestro perpetuo fuisse horum dogmatum sectatores: alios vero, etiam inde ab apostolis. Jam de ipsis eorum articulis, seu dogmatibus." p. 708.

I suppose that if Illyricus had been called on to prove all this, or even to give reasonable grounds for his probabilities, he would have been puzzled; but it is more important in our present enquiry to observe on Fox's distinct statement, that he found the articles of the Waldenses "*in order and in number to be these.*" Though he does not say where he found them, yet, I think, nobody will dispute that it was on the same page of Illyricus which contains the Latin which has

been just quoted, and which is immediately followed by the "Articuli Vualdensium" in the same *order*, but not in the same *number*, as in Fox's History.

The Articles of the Waldenses.

I. Only the holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to salvation, and no man's writing, or man besides.

II. All things which are necessary to salvation are contained in holy Scripture; and nothing is to be admitted in religion but only what is commanded in the word of God.

III. There is one only Mediator; other saints are in no wise to be made mediators, or to be invoked.

IV. There is no purgatory; but all men are either, by Christ, justified to life, or, without Christ, to be condemned: and, besides these two, there is neither any third nor fourth place.

[Omitted.]

V. All masses, namely, such as be sung for the dead, are wicked, and to be abrogate.

VI. All men's traditions ought to be rejected, at least not to be reputed as necessary to salvation; and therefore this singing and superfluous chanting in the chancel is to be left off: constrained and prefixed fasts bound to days and times, difference of meats, such variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns, superfluous holidays, so many sundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vows, peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, ought to be abolished.

VII. The supremacy of the pope usurping above all churches, and especially above all politic realms and governments, or for him to occupy or usurp the jurisdiction of both the swords, is to be denied; neither is any degree to be received in the church, but only the degrees of priests, deacons, and bishops.

VIII. The communion under both

Articuli Vualdensium.

1. Solis sacris literis credendum esse in iis quæ ad salutem pertinent, et nulli præterea homini aut scripto, firmiter sentiunt.

2. Sacras literas integre continere omnia ea quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria; eoque nihil penitus recipiendum aut admittendum in religione esse, nisi id solum quod nobis Deus in sacris literis præcepit, indubitanter credunt.

3. Unum esse tantum mediatorem, nec esse invocandos sanctos ulla ratione, statuunt.

4. Purgatorium nullum esse, sed omnes homines vel per Christum iustificatos in vitam æternam, vel non credentes in æternum exitium abire, tertium aut quartum locum superesse nullum, aiunt.

5. Tantum duo sacramenta, Baptismum ac Communionem, recipiunt ac probant.

6. Omnes missas, et præcipue eas quæ pro mortuis canuntur, impias, eoque abolendas penitus esse affirmant.

7. Omnes traditiones humanas rejiciendas, vel certe pro necessariis ad salutem nequaquam habendas esse: eoque tollendum esse cantum ac recitationem officii, jejunia ad dies certos alligata, superflua festa, discrimen ciborum, tam varios gradus ac ordines sacerdotum, monachorum ac monacharum, varias benedictiones seu consecrationes creaturarum, vota, peregrinationes et aliam omnem turbam rituum ac cæremoniarum ab hominibus inventarum seu excogitarum antiquandam esse.

8. Primatum Papæ super omnes ecclesias, in primis potestatem ejus supra omnes politias, seu utrumque ejus gladium penitus pernegant, nec censent alios gradus sacerdotales in ecclesia retinendos esse, præter sacerdotum, diaconorum et episcoporum.

9. Communionem sub utraque

kinds is necessary to all people, according to the institution of Christ.

IX. The church of Rome is the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse; and the pope is the fountain of all error, and the very antichrist.

X. The pope's pardons and indulgences they reject.

XI. The marriage of priests, and of ecclesiastical persons, they hold to be godly, and also necessary in the church.

XII. Such as hear the word of God, and have a right faith, they hold to be the right church of Christ; and to this church the keys of the church are to be given, to drive away wolves, and to institute true pastors, and to preach the word, and to minister the sacraments.*

specie et piam esse, necessariam, utpote a Christo ordinatam et præceptam, asserunt.

10. Romanam ecclesiam esse Babylonem, de qua in Apocalypsi: Papam esse omnium errorum fontem, et verum Antichristum contendunt.

11. Indulgentias quoque rejiciunt: tametsi illæ infra quadringentos annos, nempe ante 250 primum a Bonifacio octavo excogitatæ sunt.

12. Conjugium sacerdotum pium ac necessarium in ecclesia esse docent.

13. Verbum Dei audientes, ac recte sentientes, ecclesiam ejus esse, eique ecclesiæ claves a Christo datas, eoque eam posse ac etiam debere lupos fugare, et veros bonosque Christi pastores vocare, et eorum vocem audire ac ab illis sacramenta percipere.
—p. 709.

Here the reader will see, not only that Fox does not give the same number as Illyricus, from whom he copied, but that like him, he affixed a number to each of the articles; and that, by reason of his omitting the fifth, none of the numbers after No. 4 tallied. I will not take upon me to assert that this could not be mere inadvertency, but it certainly does not look like it. Let us hear, however, what the Editor of the Christian Observer says on the subject: "The question is open to consideration, in estimating the value of the history,

* It is but justice to Fox to say, that he translated this article in some respects more correctly. In the edition of 1583, from the text of which the new edition is professedly reprinted, it stands, "Such as heare the word of God, and haue a right fayth, to be the right Church of Christ. And to this Church the Keyes of the Church to be geuen, to driue away wolues, and to institute true pastors, to preach the word, and to minister the Sacraments." The editor says, and I have no doubt with a full persuasion of its truth, that "in no single instance has he infringed upon the original intent and meaning of the author." But it is clear that he has unwittingly done it by inserting "are," before "to be," as if they held that the Keys had not yet been given (a Christo datas) but were to be, at some future time—and by inserting "and," before "to preach," as if they held it to be the office of the Church to preach, and not to appoint pastors for that purpose. Before a man undertakes to correct another's style, without altering his meaning, he should be sure that he fully understands that meaning; which in this, and some other cases, the editor certainly did not.

whether Fox, in not mentioning any Waldensian statement of doctrine earlier than this, of nearly a century and a half after the time of Waldo's conversion; and in giving even this not in full, but only 'the most principal articles' wished corruptly to keep back anything that he had not pleasure in bringing forward. *We* most conscientiously and deliberately acquit him of any such artifice. In proceeding in a breath from 'the first occasion and beginning of these men' to 'their articles,' *he gave them as he found them* maturely settled: this was the result of their proceedings: and he passed by earlier and intervening exceptionable or doubtful opinions ascribed to them, either as believing the charges unfounded, or as considering them but as passing clouds, which were not essential features of the landscape. But in order, *in fairness*, to apprise the reader that he had not dotted down, word for word, all that he had read, but had used his own judgment fairly in selecting the most important materials, he adds, 'these be the most principal articles of the Waldenses; albeit some there be that add more to them; some again divide the same into more parts; but these be the principal to which the rest be reduced.' So much for Fox's first statement of Waldensian doctrines, which are pure, scriptural, and essentially Protestant." *July, p. 409.*

I dare say that the Editor was not aware that the words by which Fox 'in fairness' apprised his readers that he had not dotted down all that he had read, are merely a part of the close translation of Illyricus;

These be the principal articles of the Waldenses, albeit some there be that add more to them; some, again, divide the same into more parts: but these be the principal, to which the rest be reduced.

Hi ferme sunt Vualdensium articuli, tameſti alii eos per species latius diducant, pluresque, faciant.

Of this, the editor of the *Christian Observer* was perhaps not aware—but on what grounds does he talk of Fox's having "passed by" earlier statements of Waldensian opinions?

Has he the least pretence for suggesting that Fox knew of any? The fact that Fox copied from Illyricus seems beyond all doubt; and whether that writer made, or found, these articles, he does not tell us. In the twelfth of the Magdeburgh Centuries, in which Illyricus was subsequently engaged, he says, after talking of the Waldenses, "*sed ordine propositiones, quas isti asseruerunt recitabimus;*" and then he gives a list somewhat resembling, though considerably differing from, these; and his account is, that he gives it from an old manuscript. He does not tell us where, or how, he found the MS., or where it was when he wrote, or anything about it. "*Hæc ex antiquo manuscripto libro proferimus*" *—is all that he condescends to say on the subject of authority in a matter so curious.

But again, what does the editor of the Christian Observer mean by talking of Fox's fairness in apprising the reader that he had "used his own judgment fairly in selecting among their articles of faith, when he had before told his reader that Fox *"gave them as he found them* maturely settled"? and when Fox himself had introduced the articles to his readers, with a plain assurance that he *found them* "in order and number to be these"? will any man pretend to doubt that Fox "*found them*" in this book of Illyricus? I do not say (unlikely as it appears to me) that Fox *may not* have omitted that fifth article by mere accident; but his unfortunate advocate would make him tell a direct untruth.

There is another point to be noticed with respect to these articles. The tenth (according to Fox's numbering) is as follows: "The Pope's pardons and indulgences they reject." This, it will be observed, is not the whole of the article as given by Illyricus. I suppose that Fox omitted the remainder because he did not understand it; and what the meaning of

* Cent. Magd. XII. c. viii. p. 548.

it is, I really do not know. It leads me more than anything else, however, to think that Illyricus may have found, rather than made, these articles; because he might be so far overseen as to print nonsense, which he can scarcely be imagined to have written. Putting principle out of the question, and supposing some kind of inducement to do it (which I do not see) Illyricus must have known that the mention of a Pope of the *fourteenth* century would be enough to sink the whole set of articles; and that he was going out of his way, to state what was not only fatal to the document, but absurd and unintelligible in itself. Fox, however, gives a marginal note, which in the new edition stands as follows: "This article seemeth to be given of them in Bohemia, long after, for indulgences came not in before Boniface VIII." In reference to this, the editor of the Christian Observer says, "it is clear that he did not intend to deceive; for in a marginal note he remarks that this creed must be as recent as the days of Boniface VIII. (the beginning of the fourteenth century), since it contains an allusion to Papal indulgences, which were not heard of till that era." Now this appears to me to be quite a misconception of the case. It must, I think, be evident to everybody that Fox never meant to suggest that "*this creed* must be as recent as the days of Boniface." On the contrary, he singled out *one* distinct article, "The Pope's pardons and indulgences they reject," and put his marginal note against it, saying "*this article* seemeth to be given of them in Bohemia *long after*."—"after" *what*? Why, surely, *after* the other articles; which by the very mode of speech, as well as by his way of introducing them, he distinctly shews that he considered as *older* than the days of Boniface VIII. But what can be meant by saying that indulgences "came not in before Boniface VIII."? or, as the editor of the Christian Observer phrases it, "Papal indulgences which were not heard of till that era"?—truly I

believe that there are many persons by whom they have not been heard of to the present moment; but then, though I wish them no evil, and mean them no offence, I must say, that they should not interfere in controversies about the Waldenses.

Hitherto, without naming him, or indeed giving us the least idea how he got his information, Fox has obviously followed Illyricus. There has been no marginal reference of any kind; nor is there any until after his next paragraph, which is as follows:—

The same Waldenses, at length exiled, were dispersed in divers and sundry places, of whom many remained long in Bohemia; who, writing to their king, Uladislau, to purge themselves against the slanderous accusations of one Dr. Austin, gave up their confession with an apology of their christian profession; defending, with strong and learned arguments, the same which now is received in most reformed churches, both concerning grace, faith, charity, hope, repentance, and works of mercy.

As for purgatory, they say that Thomas Aquinas is the author thereof.

Whether the authors of the document here referred to, were really Waldenses, I doubt almost as much as I do whether Thomas Aquinas was the author of purgatory, or Boniface the VIII. of indulgences. But this is not the place to discuss that question, and they are certainly called so in the document; what we have to observe is, that Fox here gives, for the first time, an authority, telling us that he got his matter "Ex Orthuino Gratio." * The very small part which Fox has quoted from a document occupying more than seventeen close-printed folio pages, he has (I have no doubt unintentionally) misrepresented in one or two particulars; and as we are at present enquiring respecting the value of his authority—that is to say, enquiring how far we may trust to his representations of documents to which we are unable to refer—it may be worth while just to notice them.

The author of the Apology was too learned a man to

* That is from the works more commonly known as the "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum." It is in Brown's edition, vol. I, p. 175. It is also in Balthasar Lydius's *Waldensia*.

have talked of Thomas Aquinas as the “author,” or as Fox’s marginal note has it “first finder of purgatory.” He had said that purgatory is two-fold—in this world and in the world to come—that the former, a state of progressive purification, is certain; being attested by the scriptures and affirmed by our Lord, his apostles, the primitive church, and their followers for a long time—that the latter is uncertain, not founded on scripture, not known to the primitive church, or its followers for a great while, or confirmed by the doctors, especially as to *locality*. But that some moderns, as Thomas Aquinas, had found out that this third place was in hell. And so far was the writer from thinking that Thomas Aquinas was the inventor of the doctrine, that his very next words are “But that ancient Doctor Augustine thought otherwise, saying “the *place* of purgatory is not pointed out,” &c.*

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be showed and worshipped; that it was for a memorial, not for a sacrifice; to serve for the present ministration, and not for reservation; to be received at the table (not to be carried out of the doors), according to the ancient use of the primitive church, when they used to communicate sitting. And this they prove, both by an old chronicle, called ‘*Chronica Gestorum*,’ as also by ancient Origen, upon the third book of Moses, bringing in his words, which be these, proving that this sacramental bread ought not to be reserved:—“Whosoever receiveth this bread of the supper of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soul shall not be blessed, but polluted. Therefore the Gibeonites, because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was enjoined them to carry wood and water,” &c.

I think every reflecting reader will believe, without my copying whole pages to prove it, that this which Fox calls in

* “*Primum de Purgatorio, de quo ita credimus. Duplex est purgatorium, unum est hic, alterum in futuro seculo. Primum habet fidem in scripturis sacris, et est certum, in quo se purgant ad immortalia corpora, de quo sunt testificati Salvator et Apostoli et primitiva ecclesia, et sequaces longo tempore bene usi sunt. Secundum purgatorium est in alio mundo; et hoc est incertum, quia scriptura sacra non dat de hoc testimonium, de quo primitiva ecclesia nihil scivit, neque sequaces per longum tempus, et veteres doctores non confirmant, præcipue de loco. Sed proxime, novi quidem, non a longo tempore, ut Thomas Aquinas; is locum invenit tertium in inferno. Sed vetus doctor Augustinus aliter sensit dicens, Locus purgatorii non est ostensus,*” &c. p. 179.

his margin "part of the disputation between Dr. Austin and the Waldenses" is not a very complete account of the matter; and that "concerning the Supper of the Lord," these people, be they who they might, believed a good deal more than the few points which Fox here specifies. But, our present business being with his "accuracy of detail," it may be worth while to mention, that he seems to have misconceived the Apologist when he says, "an old Chronicle called *Chronica Gestorum*." I apprehend that the writer meant only a general reference to history when he said, "*et hæc institutio diu stetit, sicut Chronica gestorum ostendunt, et vetustissimus Græcus Origenes,*" &c. *p.* 175. By the manner in which the references are put together in the margin of the new edition, it looks as if the words of Origen were quoted from the "*Chronica Gestorum*;" it is precisely by this species of carelessness that innumerable errors arise in history, and that it is so difficult to trace out, and rectify them.

It is not, however, necessary to extract, or to criticise, this account which Fox gives of the dispute of the Waldenses with Dr. Austin. It is more to our present purpose to observe the way in which it is brought in. Fox's very strange and confused way of stringing together extracts, is calculated to produce all the effect of intentional falsehood. The fact which he had just stated was, that the Bishops and Prelates "had driven both Waldus and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the city"—they were "thrust out of country and goods"—and the next sentence of history (their articles of faith only intervening) is, "the same Waldenses, at length exiled, were dispersed in divers and sundry places, of whom many remained long in Bohemia"—long indeed—who would dream that Fox was leaping thus from the twelfth century to a time more recent than John Huss and Jerome of Prague—to quote a document not ten years

older than himself? What was the use of giving a Bohemian confession of 1508? Even the editor of the new edition, who follows his author through a good many quagmires where most people would have deserted him, is out of countenance at Fox's "anticipating the chronological order of history, and rambling into an account of the Bohemian brethren."

Fox proceeds:—

Over and besides, Eneas Sylvius, writing of their doctrine and assertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them than they taught or meant), reporteth them after this manner, which I thought here to set out as it is in the Latin.

Fox has indeed put in his margin, "Eneas Sylvius, *Bohemica historia de Waldensium dogmatibus*;" but I think the reader will hardly doubt that he was getting back to Illyricus, who gives us an extract headed "*Ex Ænea Sylvii Bohemica Historia, de Vualdensium dogmatibus*"—which heading Fox seems to have taken for the title of the book.

The English of the Same.

That the bishop of Rome is equal with other bishops. That amongst priests there is no difference of degree. That no priest is to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

That the souls of men departed are either to enter into pain everlasting, or everlasting joy. That there is no fire of purgatory to be found. That to pray for the dead is vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests.

That the images of God (as of the Trinity), and of saints, are to be abolished. That the hallowing of water and palms is a mere ridicule. That the religion of begging friars was found out by the devil. That priests should not encroach riches in this world, but rather follow poverty, being content with their tithes, and men's devotion. That the preaching of the word is free to all men called thereunto.

That no deadly sin is to be tolerated, for whatsoever respect of a

Romanum præsum reliquis episcopis parem esse. Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen. presbyterum non dignitatem, sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorum.

Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in æternas e vestigio penas mergi, aut perpetua consequi gaudia. Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri. Vanum esse orare pro mortuis, et avaritiæ sacerdotalis inventum.

Dei et sanctorum imagines delendas. Aquarum, palmarumque benedictiones irridendas. Mendicantium religiones malos dæmones invenisse. Sacerdotes pauperes esse debere, sola contentos eleemosyna. Liberam cuique prædicationem verbi Dei patere.

Nullum capitale peccatum, quantumvis majoris mali vitandi gratia,

greater commodity to ensue there-upon. That the confirmation, which bishops exercise with oil, and extreme unction, are not to be counted among the sacraments of the church. That auricular confession is but a toy; and that it suffices for every man to confess himself in his chamber to God. That baptism ought to be administered only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oil. That the temple of the Lord is the wide world. That the majesty of God is not to be restrained within the walls of temples, monasteries, and chapels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

That priest's apparel, ornaments of the high altar, vestments, corporaces, chalices, patines, and other church plate, serve in no stead. For the difference and respect of the very place makes no matter, where the priest doth consecrate, or doth minister to those who do require. That it is sufficient to use only the sacramental words, without any other superfluous ceremonies.

That the suffrages of saints, reigning with Christ in heaven, are craved in vain; they being not able to help us. That in saying or singing the hours and matins of the day, the time is but lost. That a man ought to cease from his labour no day, but only upon the Sunday.

That the feasts and festivals of saints ought to be rejected. Item, that such fasts as be coerced and enjoined by the church have no merit in them.

tolerandum. Qui mortalis culpæ reus sit, eum neque sæculari, neque ecclesiastica dignitate potiri, neque parendum ei. Confirmationem, quam chrismate pontifices inducunt, et extremam unctionem, inter ecclesiæ sacramenta minime contineri. Auricularem confessionem nugacem esse: sufficere, sua quemque Deo in cubili suo confiteri peccata. Baptisma fluvialis undæ, nulla interjecta sacri olei mixtura, recipiendum. cimiteriorum inanem usum, quæstus causa reperiuntur: quacunque tegantur tellure humana corpora, nil distare. Templum Dei late patentis ipsum mundum esse. Coarctare majestatem ejus, qui ecclesias monasteria, oratoriaque construunt, tamquam propitior in eis divina bonitas inveniatur.

• Sacerdotes vestes, altarum ornamenta, pallas, corporalia, calices, patinas, vasaque hujusmodi nil habere momenti. Sacerdotem quocumque loco sacrum Christi corpus conficere posse, petentibusque ministrare: sufficere, si verba sacramentalia tantum dicat.

Suffragia sanctorum in cœlis cum Christo regnantium frustra impetrari, quæ juvare non possunt. In canonicis horis cantandis dicendisque frustra tempus teri. Nulla die ab opere cessandum nisi quæ Dominica nunc appellatur.

Celebritates sanctorum prorsus rejiciendas. Jejuniis quoque, ab ecclesiis institutis, nihil inesse meriti." p. 760.

Before I offer any remarks on these articles I must give the sentence which follows them:—

"These assertions of the Waldenses being thus articulated by Eneas Sylvius, I thought to give them abroad in English as they are in Latin, to the intent that as they are the less to be doubted, being set out by a pope's pen, so we may both the better know them hereby, what they were, and also understand how this doctrine, now preached and taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost four hundred years ago."

Surely after this, in addition to the declaration with

which they were introduced, it is not unreasonable to expect that we should find the English a *mere* translation (whether more or less free) of the Latin. There is no pretence here for talking of Fox's using his own judgment in *selecting*. On them I would remark,

1. That whatever may be said of Fox's apprising his reader that the whole, or any part, of the articles before given, was more recent than the time of Boniface, yet here he particularly states that these are the doctrines which were persecuted "almost four hundred years ago."

2. The Latin states that ministers should be supported by *alms only*—the English gives them *tithes* also.

3. The Latin states that the preaching of the word is free *to all men*; the English contradicts this by adding "called thereunto."

4. The Latin states that he who is guilty of mortal sin cannot hold any dignity, secular or ecclesiastical, and is not to be obeyed; the English entirely omits the statement.

Some other variations the reader who examines will find; but these appear to me very important. Whether Æneas Sylvius reported truly, has nothing to do with the question; surely these assertions of the Waldenses are not "in English as they are in Latin." I do not affirm that Fox *must* have taken them from Illyricus (though the fact that almost every word of his history, except what he refers to Orthuinus Gratius, is from that source, and his adoption of the heading in this case, leave scarcely any room for doubt), and I shall be most thankful to have it shewn that he had somewhere else fallen in with a garbled copy, which he supposed to be correct. Though even then he ought to have told us where he got it, and not to have vouched that Eneas Sylvius "reported them after this manner."*

* Not having at present access to the work of Æneas Sylvius, and thinking it possible that Illyricus might not have extracted accurately, I requested a

If, however, a shadow of doubt can be raised, whether Fox took as the foregoing list of Waldensian articles from Illyricus, there can, I apprehend, be no doubt about what follows, which is to be found on the leaf immediately preceding that on which Illyricus gives the testimony of Eneas Sylvius :

And as I have spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine, so now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain old written book of inquisition.

Manners and Customs of the Waldenses.

The whole process cometh to this effect. The manner of the Waldenses is this. Kneeling upon their knees, leaning against some bank or stay, they do continue in their prayers in silence, as long as a man may say thirty or forty times, Pater noster. And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongst themselves and such as be of their own religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after ; likewise before supper and after ; also at what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Ave Maria, and the creed, which they affirm not to be put in as any prayer by Christ, but only by the church of Rome. Albeit they have and use the seven articles of faith concerning the divinity, and seven articles concerning the humanity, and the ten commandments, and seven works of mercy, which they have compiled together in a compendious book, glo-

*Et alio Inquisitorio libello.
De modo orandi Waldensium.*

Modus autem Vualdensium talis est, videlicet quod flexis genibus in terra inclinant, et opponunt se super aliquam bancham, vel consimile ad hoc aptum, &c. Flexis genibus inclinati stant in omnib. orationib. in silentio ita diu, quod possunt dicere triginta vel quadraginta Pater noster, et amen aliquoties : et hoc faciunt cotidie reverenter, quando sunt cum credentibus suis, et consentientibus in facto ipsorum, sine aliis extraneis, ante prandium et post, et ante cenam et post, et de nocte quando volunt ire ad lectum, et antequam reponant se. Item, de mane postquam surrexerunt de lecto. Item aliquibus aliis vicibus per diem, tam de mane quam de nocte. Item, nullam aliam orationem dicunt, nec docent, nec habent, nisi orationem Dominicam Pater noster, &c., nec aliud reputant Salutationem Angelicam Ave Maria, nec Symbolum Apostolorum Credo in Deum. Et dicunt illa per Romanam Ecclesiam, non per Christum fuisse ordinata, seu composita. Verumtamen articulos fidei septem de Divinitate, et septem

friend to collate the passage. He informs me that it agrees with the edition of 1592, cap. xxxv. p. 76-78, with these three exceptions—for *inventum* (line 11 of the Latin, p. 29) it has *inventivum*—for *quocunque loco sacrum* (line 25, p. 30) it has *quocunque loco, quocunque tempore, sacrum*—for *prorsus* (line 36, p. 30) it has *rursus*. The second of these variations furnishes additional reason to believe that Fox was translating from the passage as it stands in Illyricus.

rying much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man as to their faith.

Before they go to meat they have this grace, "Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster." Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus, in their own tongue: "God who blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, bless this table, and what is set upon it, or shall be set upon it: in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." And likewise again, when they rise from meat, the senior giveth thanks, saying, in the words of the Apocalypse, "Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving; honour, virtue, and strength, to God alone, for ever and ever. Amen." And addeth, moreover, "God reward them in their bosoms, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bless us. And the God who hath given us corporal feeding, grant us his spiritual life, and God be with us, and we always with him." To which they answer again, "Amen." And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to heaven. After their meat and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their doctrine, &c.

de Humanitate, et decem præcepta, et septem opera misericordiæ, sub quodam compendio quodammodo ab eis ordinato et composito dicunt et docent, et in illo plurimum gloriantur et statim offerunt se promptos ad respondendum de fide sua.

Antequam ponant se ad mensam, benedicunt eam dicendo: Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster: quo dicta, antiquior inter eos dicit in vulgari: Deus, qui benedixit quinque panes hordeaceos et duos pisces in deserto, coram discipulis suis, benedicit hanc mensam, et ea quæ sunt super eam, et ea quæ apponentur in ea (et faciunt signum crucis) in nomine Patris, et et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Item quando surgunt de mensa in prandio et in cœna, reddunt gratias, hoc modo videlicet, quod antiquior dicit in vulgari, id quod habetur in Apocalypsi: Benedictio et claritas et sapientia et gratiarum actio, honor, virtus et fortitudo, Deo soli in secula sæculorum, Amen. Et postea subdit: Deus reddat bonam mercedem et bonam cambium omnibus illis qui benefaciunt nobis, et benedicunt nobis. &c, Deus qui dedit nobis cibum corporalem, det vitam spiritualem: et Deus sit nobiscum, et nos cum eo semper: et alii respondent, Amen. Item quando benedicunt mensam, et quando reddunt gratias, tenent ut frequenter manus junctas, et elevant versus cælum. Item post prandium dictis gratiis, et facta oratione, ut supra, prædicant et docent, et faciunt exhortationes suas de doctrina sua." p. 757.

The reader will perhaps observe one or two inaccuracies in the Latin which I have not thought it worth while to correct, as it is my wish to give such reprints as exactly as possible; because, as I have before observed on a similar occasion, if a misprint is obvious and certain it can do no harm, and if it is not, the reader ought to have the opportunity of judging whether it exists. The only thing of the sort worth mentioning on this occasion is, that *aliud*, in the twenty-second line of the Latin, seems as if it should be

aliquid. On the translation it may be sufficient to offer two remarks.

1. The Inquisitor according to the translation, testified of the heretics, "they use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Ave Maria, and the Creed, which they affirm *not* to be *put in as any prayer* by Christ, but only by the church of Rome." What could he mean—what heresy was that—where has the church of Rome "put in" the Apostles' Creed "as [or according to former editions, "for"], any prayer?" The reader, who has not Illyricus's book to refer to, will be puzzled to know why any one should so translate the Latin; but in fact this is one of the bold strokes of that writer. He found the Inquisitor, as appears by the words which he has given, plainly charging the heretics of whom he wrote with rejecting the Salutation and the Apostles' Creed, classing them together as human compositions made up by the Romish Church—what was he to do? He wrote in his margin "*Id est, negant symbolum esse orationem.*" That was all—they only denied that the Apostles' Creed was a prayer. This stroke of his has had some success. What he put in his margin is, in the English translation wrought into the text, and given as the testimony of the Inquisitor; and, if not very intelligible, it may yet be read without scandal. Nay, the only feeling which it would be likely to excite, in the minds of most readers, would be that of pity for the stupid Inquisitor, who could think it worth while to record so singular a heresy.

2. The translation omits the statement, in the tenth line of the second paragraph of the Latin, that in saying grace they made the sign of the cross.

The next paragraph of Fox is as follows:—

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painful, that Reinerius, a writer about that time (an extreme enemy against them),

Verum cum ipsorum Waldensium vetustiora scripta haberi nequeant, apponemus hic Papistæ cujuspiam, Reinerii, ut opinor, summam pro-

in a long process, wherein he describeth their doctrine and teaching, testifieth that he heard of one who did know the party, "that a certain heretic," saith he, "only to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his, in the night, and in the winter time, swam over the river called Ibis, to come to him, and to teach him." Moreover, so perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith, he did hear and see a man of the country unlettered, who could recite over the whole book of Job word by word, without book, with divers others, who had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather merrily than skillfully expounded the words of St. John, "Sui non receperunt eum"—"Swine did not receive him;" yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevail; insomuch that Reinerius hath these words: "There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresy, insomuch that in one parish of Cammach were ten open schools of them," &c.

And the said Reinerius, when he hath said all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this of them, where he doth distinguish their sect from other sects, and hath these words: "This sect of Leonists hath a great show of holiness, in that they both live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the creed; only they do blaspheme the Romish church, and hate it," &c.

All this is to be found in Illyricus certainly: and after what we have seen it would be natural to suppose that Fox took it from thence. There is, however, I believe, another reason for supposing this—namely, that when Fox wrote, these passages of Reinerius had not been printed anywhere but in this book of Illyricus. I am aware that "ex

lixam dogmatum ipsorum, forte ante 300 annos confectam, et a nobis ex veteri membranaceo libro desumptum. Etsi autem is ipse Valdensium adversarius, durissimis ac odiosis verbis eorum dogmata proponit." p. 723.

Audivi ab ore credentis cujusdam, quod quidam hæreticus, quem novi, ad hoc tantum, ut eum a fide nostra averteret, et ad suam perduceret, perverteretque, nocte hyemali tempore per aquam, quæ dicitur Ibis, natavit ad ipsum.

Vidi et audiivi rusticum idiotam, qui Job recitavit de verbo ad verbum: et plures alios, qui novum Testamentum totum sciverunt perfecte.

Et quia sunt laici idiotæ false et corrupte exponunt scripturam, ut Joan. I. Sui, id est porci, eum non receperunt. sui dicentes, id est, suæ. p. 724.

Non erat qui eos impedire auderet, propter potentiam et multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni et examinationi frequenter interfui. Et computatæ sunt 40 Ecclesiæ, quæ hæresi infectæ fuerunt. ac in sola parrochia Cammach fuerunt decem scholæ hæreticorum." p. 726.

Hæc Leonistarum magnam habens speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur: solam Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant, et oderunt:" p. 726.

"Orthuino Gratio" stands in Fox's margin against one sentence of it, and I do not take upon me to say that there may not be extracts from Reinerius in the work so referred to; but I rather think that it is only a mistake, and that the marginal reference has got out of its place.

It is more important to enquire what Fox really gives us as the testimony of Reinerius; and in doing this we shall find further evidence that he was copying from Illyricus. As to Fox's representing that Reinerius "hath said all he can in depraving and impugning" the Leonists, it is of course mere exaggeration; but Reinerius certainly does say of them, that, being ignorant men, they made blunders in attempting to translate the scriptures; and specifies that in the first chapter of St. John they had mistaken the word *sui* for *sues*. How was Illyricus, who was, as we have seen, very jealous for the learning of Waldo and his followers, to meet this statement? He wrote in his margin (and what an idea does it give us of the man), "*est pius jocus.*" This impudent—surely I might say profane and disgusting—suggestion Fox seems to have adopted, but to have somewhat modified, by inserting *videtur*, as not venturing, I suppose, to say positively that these eminently holy and enlightened Leonists considered the rejection of Christ by "his own," as matter for a pious joke, or that the lewdness of Christ's ministers was a thing to be laughed at. Whether Fox further altered *jocus* into *locus*, as it now stands in the new edition, I really do not know. It is certainly *locus* in the edition of 1596 and of 1684; but in that of 1583, which is the professed ground work of the new edition, I really feel uncertain whether the letter which begins the word is an *I* or an *L*. The type is so worn, and, in my copy at least, the impression so defective, that I know not how to decide; but if Fox did not read *jocus*, how came he by the idea that they did it "merrily"?

There is, however, another point to be noticed in con-

nection with this *pious locus* or *jocus*, whichever it may be. A joke is two-fold in its nature. I do not mean that it may be pious or impious, for in the present case it seems as if one and the same joke might be both. It might be very jocular of the Waldenses purposely to translate the word of God in this way, or it might be a good joke to enlightened people of the present day to see early ignorance making such blunders. Wherein lay the merriment? Was it in the Waldenses laughing at the priests, or is it in us laughing at the Waldenses? Fox plainly says one thing; his new Editor makes him say the other. Fox tells us that the Leonists *meant* to be facetious; his new Editor represents the joke as lying against them. Fox, in the editions of 1583, 1596, (and, as far as I know, in all others) tells us that they did it “rather merely than *unskilfully*.” He maintains that it was a piece of wit, and no want of skill; but his new Editor makes him say that they did it “rather merrily than *skilfully*.” On what ground does he make this alteration?

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions:—After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into divers and sundry places, the providence of God so disposing, that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia; many did flee into their provinces of France; some into Lombardy; others into other places, &c. But as the cross commonly followeth the verity and sincere preaching of God's word, so neither could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquensis, and Albanensis, devised amongst themselves, which yet remain in writing, for the abolishing and extirpating of these Waldenses, written above three hundred years ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

Besides, there was a whole council kept in Toulouse about three hundred and fifty-five years before, and all

Accidit procul dubio non tantum humana aut diabolica persecutorum malitia sed multo magis divino consilio, sicut Apostolorum tempore ut crudelitate impiorum Lugduno pellerentur, ac per varias mundi regiones dissiparentur, quo scilicet in omnem terram sonus eorum exiret, et veritatis lux dispergeretur. Aufugerunt igitur Lugduno, partim in varias Gallie partes, et præsertim in Narbonensem provinciam: partim, et quidem plures, in Lombardiam, Italiæ provinciam, quam Romani citeriorem Galliam vocarunt. Habeo consultationes jurisperitorum Avinionensium, item Archiepiscoporum Narbonensis, Arelatensis et Aquensis, item ordinationem Albanensis episcopi, de extirpandis Vualdensibus, jam ante annos 300 scriptas: ex quibus apparet, plurimos passim in tota Gallia fuisse.

Fuit et integrum concilium Tolosæ contra Vualdenses celebratum, circiter ante annos 355. sed prius in alio

against these Waldenses, who also were condemned in another council at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised up against them in France by these four archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings; whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these:—"Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of the Waldenses, the heretics, done and past so many years ago, so famous, so public, followed upon with so great labours, expenses, and travail of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished?"—Whereby we may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when Antichrist so long before, even three hundred years, began to rage against these Waldenses.

Romæ celebrato damnati fuere. Amplissimum vero numerum fuisse jam olim Vualdensium, gravissimasque contra eos persecutiones institutas, facile ex prædicta trium Archiepiscoporum Gallicorum consultatione ante ante annos scripta apparet. Nam sub finem ejus ita scribunt: Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorum Vualdensium ignoret, a longis retro annis tam justissime factam, tam famosam, tam publicam, tot et tantis laboribus expensis et sudoribus fidelium insequutum, et tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solenniter damnatorum, publiceque punitorum, tam fortiter sigillatam? Ex quibus verbis facile apparet, et multos Vualdenses jam olim ante 300 annos in multis locis fuisse, et magnam tetramque eorum lanienam Antichristum cum suis exerceuisse." p. 711.

One would suppose the Lawyers, Archbishops, and Bishops, all to have consulted together against the Waldenses "amongst themselves;" instead of which Illyricus speaks of some consultations of Lawyers at Avignon, of the Council of the Archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, and Aix, (or what is commonly called the Council of Narbonne in 1235), and of an ordinance of the Bishop of Albano, which was perfectly distinct from both. Indeed, as it related to the extirpation of heresy in France, one would suppose that *Albanensis* should be *Albiensis*, forasmuch as the Bishop of Albi was in the midst of it. But this is not to our present purpose, which is only to enquire respecting Fox's accuracy, and the confidence which we may place in his translations. It will be seen that he afterwards makes these Prelates into four Archbishops, even in translating Illyricus's "*trium Archiepiscoporum*;" and when he here immediately follows up his account of consultations held "three hundred years ago," with an account of a Council held "three hundred and fifty-five years before," who would not suppose that he was speaking of a Council three hundred and fifty-five years

before the consultations? When placed beside the Latin it is seen to be only a too literal translation of Illyricus, whom Fox followed so implicitly as not to recollect that what happened three hundred and fifty-five years before Illyricus wrote, must have happened somewhat longer before he wrote himself.

But as to this Council which Fox says was held "*all* against these Waldenses,"—he very naturally argues that they must have been numerous in France at that time. He makes the Council speak as if not only its own deliberations, but the swords of the Crusaders, had been directed against the Waldenses exclusively. All this, however, depends on the omission of one little word, which makes a most important difference. The Council did not speak of "*heretic Waldenses*;" but "*heretics and Waldenses*." Their words are "*hæreticorum et Valdensium*,"—not as Illyricus (who has misled Fox) gives them, "*hæreticorum Valdensium*." This difference is very important in the controversy respecting the number of Waldenses then in France, and yet more so as to the identity of the Albigenses and Waldenses; but this is not the place to discuss it. It is enough here to say that Illyricus may have omitted the *et* either by accident or design; but that the omission is not to be accounted for by any various reading, or any shift of that kind, because the Council throughout speaks of the "*hæretici*" (whomsoever they might mean by the term) as contradistinguished from the Waldenses. The points for our consideration are that Fox, with all the Editor of the Christian Observer's pretence of his laborious examination of testimony, seems to have known nothing about the Council of Thoulouse but what he got from Illyricus, whom he does not name; and that, following him, he has misquoted the document, and raised an erroneous argument on the misquotation respecting a point of very great importance in the controversy. He proceeds:

In Bohemia, likewise, after that, the same, called by the name of Thaborites, as Sylvius recordeth, suffered no little trouble.

"Testatur vero Sylvius, apud Tabortas Vadamensem doctrinam regnasse ... Thaboritas, qui revera Valdensium dogma sunt sequuti, licet Hussitæ videri vellent, et ex cœtu ejus prodissent, gravissime sunt vexati et oppugnati," &c. p. 722-723.

As to the next paragraph, I think there can be no dispute that Fox was indebted to the long extract from Sleidan which Illyricus gives, just in the very part of his work from which we have had so many extracts:—

But never persecution was stirred up against them, or any other people more terrible than was in these latter years in France by the French king, A. D. 1545, which lamentable story is described in Sleidan, and hereafter, in the process of this book, as we come to the order of years, shall be set forth, by the grace of Christ, more at large; in the which persecution is declared, in one town, Cabriera, to be slain by the captain of Satan, Reinerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of women or children of any age; of whom forty women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a barn, and the windows kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a cave not far from the town Mussium, to the number of five and twenty persons with smoke and fire were at the same time destroyed. At Merindolum the same tyrant, seeing all the rest were fled away, and finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an olive-tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly; with much other persecution, as shall appear hereafter in the history translated out of Sleidan into English.

"Cæterum ii ipsi homines demum anno 1545, fuerunt a rege gravissime ac crudelissime afflicti, vel potius funditus deleti et exterpati. Quæ illorum bonorum virorum miseranda calamitas, adversariorumq; plusquam Turcica crudelitas, est tum separatim quodam Gallico libello exposita, tum et a Sledano compendio comprehensa, cujus locum adscribam." p. 712.

"Cæsororum numerus repertus est tam in oppido quam foris, numero ad cotingentos." p. 717.

"Trucidantur ad unum fere omnes, non viri tantum, sed et mulieres, pleque gravidæ. Minerius etiam ad quadraginta circiter fœminas in horreum straminis atque fœni plenum includit, post ignem subjicit et incendit: cum illæ vestibibus exutis conarentur flammam nascentem restinguere, neque possent, ad majorem fenestram, qua fœnum recondi solet in horreum, advolant, ut sese ejiciant: sed ibi repulsæ telis et hastis, conflagrarunt omnes." p. 716.

"Non procul ab oppido Mussio, quod ante diximus, quidam ingressi cavernam sub rupe latitabant, numero ad viginti quinque: sed proditi fumo fuerunt omnes et igni enecati." p. 717.

"Cum vacuum habitatoribus reperisset, diripit ac incendit, edito prius exemplo valde crudeli. Nam adolescentem unicum ibi nactus, religari jubet ad oleam, et tormentis occidi." p. 716.

On this it is unnecessary to make any remark, except that the Editor of the new edition has changed *Minerius* into *Reinerius*, both in the text and the margin, without, so far

as I can see, the least reason. It is so plain, both in black and Roman letter, in the edition which he professed to follow, that one can only suppose the alteration to have been intended; and that here, as well as elsewhere, he thought that he was correcting an error, when he was, in fact, adding to the vast number of mistakes which it was his business to remove. Fox proceeds:—

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that, Reinerius (above mentioned), speaketh of one in the town of Cheron, a glover, who was brought at this time to examination, and suffered.

“Cum quidam hæresiarcha hæreticus chirothecarius in Cheron ducetur ad mortem, dixit,” &c. p. 726.

Furthermore, it was Illyricus who happened to have the “old monument of process” of which Fox speaks, and of which I give the account as it stands, though there is obviously a misprint of addition or omission with respect to the number of persons examined. In this original edition of Illyricus, from which I copy, it seems quite clear that the 44 never had a 3 after it, and the want of it must have been particularly conspicuous to any corrector of the press, from its being quite the end of a line beginning a new paragraph.

There is also an old monument of process, wherein appear four hundred and forty-three to be brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about A. D. 1391.

“Habeo quoque magnum processuum volumen in quo 44 Valdenses nominatim examinati sunt in Pomerania, Marchia, et vicinis locis, circa annum Domini 1391.....nam ubi 443 nominatim sunt examinati,” &c. p. 721.

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses; who, as is declared first began about the time of this King Henry II.

Such is Fox's history of the Waldenses—there is, however, one thing more connected with it which must be noticed, before we enquire into the honesty of representing Fox as one who had made “a laborious examination of testimony” as to Waldo's ability to translate the Scriptures, and such a “scrutiny” of documents in general relating to the Waldenses, as that a particular confession could not have

escaped him. It is this—that, a few pages after, he represents these Waldenses as monks—or to borrow the smoother language of the Editor of the new edition, “for want of an *accurate distinction* between different sects and different religious orders, Fox has fallen into *the error* of placing ‘Waldensis’ sect’ among what he calls a ‘rabble of popish religious orders.’” p. 353. An “error” certainly, and one that is not to be got over quite so easily as the Editor seems to think; which is, at all events, most important for our present view of the case; for if a writer is to tell us at p. 263 that the Waldenses were raised up by Christ against the pride and hypocrisy of the popish orders, and at p. 352, that they were part of a rabble “set up” by the Pope, what can we say of his authority? Ought not a writer of ecclesiastical history to make “an accurate distinction between different sects?” The Editor of Fox tells us that he was led into this very absurd blunder by “copying inadvertently”—be it so; there are too many proofs that Fox copied “inadvertently” (or at least copied what he had not taken sufficient pains to understand and consider) to allow of our doubting that it might be so—but is such inadvertence consistent with anything like the deliberate and digested knowledge which would render a man’s opinion or statements on such subjects worth appealing to?

What then is Fox’s authority in the matter? His history of the Waldenses is, with the exception of what he professes to have taken from Orthuinus Gratius, almost entirely a mere plagiarism from Illyricus—a writer to whom he does not make the most distant allusion. He mentions him, indeed, elsewhere, and gives ample proof that he knew the book which in this case he followed almost exclusively; but here there is nothing which should lead a reader to doubt, any more than the Editor of the Christian Observer seems to have done, that Fox had seen the parchment monuments to

which he referred, and that he had for himself consulted Æneas Sylvius, Reinerius, and Sleidan. I feel it right, however, in reply to the Editor of the *Christian Observer's* question, "Does Fox falsify or unfairly abridge or partially select documents?" to offer a few more general observations on Fox's conduct in respect of authorities. At the same time I wish to be considered as speaking exclusively of that portion of the history which is contained in the volume of the new edition just published. It happens to be the part of the work with which I was previously most acquainted, and though I do not at all know that it would be unjust to extend these remarks to the whole, yet I do not feel authorised to do it.

1. Fox frequently gives no authority at all. No one who reads a few pages will require any proof of this. It may happen that the reader knows of some source; but if not, it is impossible that he should know what was Fox's authority, or whether he had any.

2. He frequently gives his authority in so vague and uncertain a manner, that it is of no use. What does the reader learn by such references as these—"Taken out of the English story or chronicle compiled by certain English clerks. 82.—Ex historia ignoti authoris. 83.—Ex Jornal.; Malmesb.; Polydor.; Fab. *et aliis*. 87.—Jornalensi *et aliis*. 167.—Ex Chron. Angli incerti autoris. 184.—it is said in a certain old chronicle before mentioned. 185.—Ex incerti authoris Chronico. 186.—Nichol. Trivet. *et alii*. 188.—Ex Chronico Bibliothecæ Cariensis—Ex vetusto manuscripto, exemplari historiæ Cariensis—Ex vetusto Chron. acephalo. 271.—Ex Chron. cujus initium 'In diebus sanctissimi regis Edvardi;' &c. Ex Biblioth. Cariensi. 272. [that is an "old written chronicle remaining in the hands of one William Cary, Citizen of London." p. 273 and 655.] Ex Chronico pervetusto, cui initium 'In diebus sanctis. regis,' &c. 273.—Ex

historia manuscripta cui initium, 'Rex Pictorum.' Ex Bibliotheca Cariensi mutuata. 274.—Ex veteri Chronico manuscripto, cui initium, 'Anno gratiæ millesimo,' &c. 280.—Ex lib. anonymo, et ex Hist. Gervasii monachi Cantuariensis. 295.—Ex veteri Chronico manuscripto anonymo, de gestis Ricardi Regis, cui initium, 'Anno gratiæ,' &c. Item ex alio ejusdem vetustatis chronico manuscripto, cui initium, 'Eneas cum Ascanio,' &c. 305.—Ex Matth. Paris.; et ex aliis incerti nominis manuscriptis codicibus. 315.—Ex variis Chron. 317.—Ex Chronico vetusto Angliæ. 343," &c.

How is one (without making such a business of it as belongs only to an editor) to trace a writer who refers to such authorities, in such a way? and who could have believed that such a book could have been reprinted in the present day without some examination as to what these authorities were? Surely those who found the publishers rejoicing that they were "enabled to calculate on the most important assistance in the facilities offered by Public Libraries" for the collation of editions of Fox's own work, would take it for granted that they would employ an editor who, with such facilities, and very moderate knowledge and industry, might have found out what some, at least, of these books, really were, and whether they were books of credit.

But this is not the worst species of vague reference; for if Fox tells us that he took a fact "ex lib. anonymo" we may feel ourselves at liberty to doubt or to reject, and are not bound to enquire very deeply into the matter. But when he says that his authority is Matthew Paris, or Roger Hoveden, or any other writer of credit, we do not like peremptorily to decide that he is mistaken because we cannot find any thing like what he says, even when we are morally certain that we have got the place on which he grounds his assertion, and that there is nothing else in the author referred to which can support his statement. If people are

not intended to look out the references, it would be as well not to give any; if they are to do it when they doubt a statement, or wish for further information respecting it, the references should be intelligible, and given in such a manner as to facilitate enquiry. One or two specimens will illustrate my meaning. Fox says:—

“Great slaughter at the same time there was of them who were called Catini, about the parts of Almain. These Catini were esteemed of Pope Gregory and the papists to be heretics, but what their opinions were, I find it not expressed in Matthew Paris.” p. 409.

I print it as it stands in the new edition. In that of 1583, p. 280, Matthew Paris is more distinctly given as a reference by the mode of printing; the paragraph ending “I find it, not expressed. *In Parisiens.*”—the first five words being in black letter, and the others in Roman, as Fox commonly gave his authorities. Now, having a good deal to do with heretics of the thirteenth century, I should be glad to know whether there ever were any called Catini, for I do not remember to have heard of them elsewhere; but if I turn to Matthew Paris, I search in vain for any such name. If I look in the year noted in Fox’s margin, I find that (having spoken of a slaughter of the “*hæretici Albigen-ses*” in the paragraph immediately preceding, of which Fox speaks in his paragraph next following) Matthew Paris says “*Similiter in partibus Alemanie fines contingentibus, hæreticos quosdam multiplicatos consimili miseria involvit Deus omnipotens,*” &c. I feel, of course, no doubt that Fox alluded to this passage, but though it says nothing of Catini, how am I to know, without reading Matthew Paris through, whether Fox’s statement is true or false? It may be said that it is of little consequence whether the people were called Catini, or by any other name; but that is not the question—the question is, how far may we trust the fidelity and care and understanding of a writer in cases where we have not

the means of turning to his authority, if we find so little satisfaction when we do?

3. Fox sometimes gave one authority when he was, in fact, using another;—that is, he borrowed authorities. The History of the Waldenses may, perhaps, furnish sufficient proof of this; but it would be easy to multiply instances. One or two I will mention. At p. 182, of the new edition, Fox says:—

“Certain histories make mention of one Arnulph, in the time of this Pope Honorius II. Some say he was Archbishop of Lugdune, as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus. Trithemius saith he was a priest, whose history, as it is set forth in Trithemius, I will briefly in English express. About this time, saith he, in the days of Honorius II., one Arnulph, a priest, zealous, and of great devotion, and a worthy preacher, came to Rome, who, in his preaching, rebuked the dissolute and lascivious looseness, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate pride of the clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his apostles in their poverty rather, and in pureness of life. By reason whereof this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobility of Rome for a true disciple of Christ; but of the cardinals and the clergy he was no less hated than favoured of the other, insomuch that privily, in the night season, they took him and destroyed him. This his martyrdom, saith he, was revealed to him before from God by an angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to preach; whereupon he said unto them publicly these words: “I know,” saith he, “ye seek my life, and know you will make away with me privily: but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutness, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greediness in getting and heaping up of riches, therefore you be displeased with me. I take here heaven and earth to witness, that I have preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you condemn me and your Creator, who by his only son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you seek my death, being a sinful person, preaching unto you the truth, when if St. Peter were here this day and rebuked your vices, which do so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him neither.” And as he was expressing this, with a loud voice he said moreover: “For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth’s sake; but this I say unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. You, being full of all impurity, play the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to hell; a God he is of vengeance.” Thus the hatred of the clergy being incensed against him for preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so laying privy wait for him, took him and drowned him. Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.”

Now if after reading this fine story, we turn to Trithemius (as Fox correctly calls him), we shall find a plain tale which by no means warrants it, notwithstanding Fox’s assurance

that it is told “as it is set forth in Trithemius.” Perhaps his saying that he would “briefly in English express” it, might lead us to expect that he had abridged rather than embellished it. However it stands thus in Trithemius:—

“In those days, under Pope Honorius II., a certain priest and hermit, named Arnolphus, came to Rome, publicly declaring that the angel of the Lord had appeared to him when he was watching in his hermitage, and had commanded him to go and preach at Rome, and on God’s behalf confidently to rebuke the vices of the clergy. He came and preached, and began sharply to rebuke the pride, haughtiness, luxury, and avarice of the clergy, and especially the cardinals, and to exhort them to imitate the conversation of Christ and the Apostles. Who, when after having been forbidden, he would not give over preaching, being privately seized by night, was thrown into the Tiber and drowned.”*

This certainly is a poor foundation for Fox’s story; but is he responsible for any falsification? Certainly I do not mean to charge him with it. The only thing which seems to me to be wrong is that, instead of telling us where he got it, he quotes Trithemius directly. I do not doubt that he was translating from p. 1093 of the same book of Illyricus, which has been so often mentioned; and this the rather because Illyricus there professes to give the extract from Trithemius as something not before published.—“quando quidem id nondum opinor editum esse”—and whether he found it anywhere as he gave it, I cannot, of course, tell.

I hope it is not uncharitable to suspect that Fox was somewhat unwilling to name Illyricus too often, and render prominent a writer who had made himself so odious to most, and the most respectable, of the Protestants. He

* His temporibus sub Honorio Papa II. presbyter quidam, et eremita nomine Arnolphus Romam venit, dicens publice Angelum Domini apparuisse in eremitorio sibi vigilanti, ac præcepisse ut Romam prædicaturus adiens vitia clericorum ex parte Dei confidenter argueret. Venit, prædicavit, fastum, superbiam, luxum et avaritiam cleri, et maxime Cardinalium, acriter cœpit redarguere, et eos ad imitationem conversationis Christi, et apostolorum cohortari. Qui cum prohibitus prædicare non cessaret, nocte quadam occulte captus, in Tyberimque projectus suffocatur. *An.* 1128, Tom. I. p. 389.

certainly does mention him several times, but he is far from acknowledging all his obligations to him. We have seen a remarkable specimen of this in his History of the Waldenses, as well as in the extract from Trithemius just quoted; and I have no doubt that he was further indebted to Illyricus for what he has said about Arnulphus. If we compare what I have above extracted from Fox with the first account which Illyricus gives of Arnulphus in the paragraph of his catalogue, p. 644, beginning "Narrat Hugo, Platina et Sabellicus, Arnulphum quendam Archiepiscopum Lugdunensem, qui magna nominis celebritate, magnoque mortalium concursu divinam legem per Gallias, Italiam, et tandem Romæ prædicabat," &c., we shall scarcely doubt. There is, indeed, a curious difference, which is worth noticing on the subject of authorities;—Illyricus, in the first account, says, "*Hugo* quidem dicit captum et suspensum;" without telling us what the other two writers say on that subject. Fox says "*Sabellicus* and *Platina* say they hanged him,"—and so does Illyricus, in the second account above referred to, "*Sabellicus*, et *Platina*, suspensum affirmant." But really in unravelling such matters it is necessary now and then to look up, and look round, and rub one's eyes, and ask where one has got to. Here is a story about an Archbishop of Lyons who went on a missionary tour through France and Italy, and was martyred at Rome, though historians cannot exactly say—or rather modern writers cannot settle as to their testimony—whether he was hanged or drowned. What idea can people, who read such accounts with complacency, have of history? Do they suppose that there is no account of Lyons, or its Archbishops, or of the transactions of the time? If we were told that all this had happened to a priest named James, who was Archbishop of York in the reign of Queen Anne, we should turn to the list of Archbishops, and if we found that in her short reign, and even in the whole

series of Prelates, there was no Archbishop of York of that name, what should we think? Now it is quite as easy for people, who possess the facilities afforded by public libraries, and chuse to take the trouble, to see if there ever was an Arnulphus Archbishop of Lyons, and to learn who held that highly important station in the church during the very few years that Honorius II. was Pope. Humbald is not quite an unknown personage; and it is rather a singular coincidence that in the very year under which Trithemius gives this story of Arnulph, we find Bernard writing, "Reverendissimo Domino et Patri suo Humbaldo, Lugdunensi Archiepiscopo, *Romanæ Sedis Legato*," on behalf of Burchard Bishop of Meaux. In fact, while this preaching is represented as having gone on, the Archbishop of Lyons was the Pope's Legate, fighting his battle against the obstinate and impudent Abbot of Clugni, who had just set him at defiance, and sent him word that none but St. Peter in heaven could excommunicate him. But still the story of the martyred Archbishop is too good to be given up. It is printed and reprinted, vouched and revouched for, by writers on the Waldensian History. Leger gives the story with his characteristic ignorance and impudence; "Arnulphe aussi Archevêque de Lyon, [no doubt on that point] s'opposa avec tant de zele aus corruptions de la doctrine [Illyricus was content with practice] et du Clergé papal, qu'il en fut martirizé, comme le remarquent Platina, et Hugo Sabellicus, (*sic*) 'Magno mortalium concursu divinam legem, per Italiam, Galliam, et tandem Romæ prædicans,' prêchant la divine loy par toute l'Italie, et la France, et dans Rome mêmes avec une grande suite d'auditeurs, ayant esté pandu dans Rome par la rage du Clergé au tems du pape Honorius II. l'an 1062 (*sic*) Trithemius *parlant de cét Archevêque*, [even Illyricus does not pretend that Trithemius supposed the Archbishop of Lyons to have had anything to do with the matter]

au livre intitulé *Chronicum Hirsaugiense*, dit que 'du tems du Pape Honorius II. vint à Rome Arnulphus homme de grande pieté, et predicateur tres-excellent, qui prêchant la pure parole de Dieu, reprenoit hauement l'impureté, et les autres vices du Clergé, et recommandoit la simplicité, et sainteté Apostolique, si bien qu'il fut admiré par la noblesse Romaine, comme un vray disciple de Jesus Christ, mais que les Cardinaux, et le Clergé le firent égorger de nuit, selon que luy même avoit predict son martyre.' L'Histoire en est décrite plus au long par Illyricus, en son Catalogue des vrais Temoins, a la page 1443." *

* *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*. p. 152. Leger's reference agrees with the fourth edition of Illyricus, of 1608. Of course we have in the present day lost all doubts whether Arnulphus was Archbishop of Lyons. He is an important person in modern Waldensian history. We see the successor of Irenæus, though in "a nominal connection" with the Church of Rome, come boldly down from his metropolitan throne to rebuke his apostate brother of Rome; and it opens to our view the state of things in "the south of France" in the twelfth century. Mr. Blair, who is one of the most ignorant and prolix of the modern writers on the History of the Waldenses, and whose work the Editor of the new edition of Fox is not ashamed to mention as an authority, tells the story thus:—"Even in a nominal connection with the Church of Rome, there were some in the south of France, like Anselm at Milan, who opposed the Roman corruptions. Here Arnulph, Archbishop of Lyons, deserves to be mentioned, who opposed himself with so much zeal to the corruptions of the papal clergy in doctrine and life. Platina and *Hugo Sabellicus* remark, that he 'preached the divine law through Italy and France, and lastly at Rome, with a great concourse of people.' In the *Hirsuage* Chronicle, Trithemius writes, that 'in the time of Pope Honorius II. Arnulph came to Rome, a man of great piety, and an excellent preacher, who, when preaching the pure word of God, boldly reprov'd the impurity and other vices of the clergy. He so much recommended apostolic simplicity and holiness, that he was admired by the nobles of Rome as a true disciple of Jesus Christ, but the cardinals and clergy caused *choke* him by night, (le firent égorger de nuit).' Leger understands this as meaning, that he was hanged (pandu) at Rome, by the rage of his enemies. Illyricus, in his Catalogue, writes his biography at length." Vol. I. p. 229. Such statements may surprise those who are not aware how the history of the persons set forth as "the line of witnesses" has been dealt with, from the days when Illyricus first published his Catalogue. That work contains some other very odd martyrs besides Arnulphus. For instance—among various paragraphs from Matthew Paris, Illyricus begins one—"Anno Domini 1179 puer quidam apud Vuadescoc'h martyrizatur. Concilium generale Romæ celebratur," &c. p. 597. Certainly under that year Matthew Paris says "Puer

Another instance of the same kind is furnished by "the sentence of the Council of Brixia against Hildebrand." p. 133. Perhaps the reader will take my word that, so far as concerns Henry Mutius, the sentence is not thus expressed in the Abbot Urspergensis. The words "for he took away the marriage of priests, as Henry Mutius witnesseth," are, in the edition of 1583, enclosed in a parenthesis, which the Editor of the new edition has removed. That he observed the name is plain, for with that petty tampering which seems to have been his principal employment as Editor, he has turned Henricus into Henry, without attempting to translate the other half of the man's name, or testifying the least surprise at finding him in a decree of a Council held in 1080.* In fact the matter stands (parenthesis and all) in the work of Illyricus, so repeatedly referred to, p. 292.

quidam martyrizatus est apud Woodstocke;" but by whom was he martyred, and for what? Was it by the Jews, because he was a papist? What does it matter?

* Would it not have been more to the purpose to tell his readers who Henry Mutius was, if he could find any account of such a person? In like manner at p. 645, he gives a note on the sad story which Fox gives on the authority of Arpontacus Burdegalensis, without correcting or even noticing the barbarity of the reference. How it would surprise Joscaliger to see his old schoolfellow thus introduced to the public of the nineteenth century, in one of the handsomest volumes which it has produced. Would he not think that the arts had outstripped the letters of our country? and is it not in fact lamentable that almost innumerable misprints, misnomers, and mistakes, should be thus amberized? There is nothing like any pretence of accurate reprinting to plead for this; on the contrary, the editor has altered, and (sometimes most unhappily) attempted to improve the text. This is not the place to enter into details on the subject, but I will add here what has been by some accident omitted at p. 22, where it should have stood as a note on the 12th article. It is only justice to Fox to say that he did not translate the article as it there stands. If the reader will only draw his pencil over *they hold*, in the second line, *are* in the fifth line, and *and* in the sixth line, he will have the article as it stands in the text of the edition of 1583. It will be obvious that the two latter interpolations alter the sense. We may ask when and by whom the Keys are to be given to Church, if they are not (as Fox's version implies) already given? and if this is not meant why is the alteration made?—again, the *and* put into the sixth line, makes the article state that it is the office of the Church to preach the word, whereas, the article really declares it to be the office of the Church to appoint pastors for that purpose. I give the editor full credit for

4. I feel it very difficult to say what is, or is not, unfair abridgement. I find that people differ very much on this point, and I believe that my ideas of honesty are different from those of the Editor of the *Christian Observer*. As to what he says about "*some* historical critics," and "*certain* cavillers," I do not know whether he means me; but if he does, I hope that he will, sometime or other, rise above that low stile of attack, and fairly tell me so; pointing out at the same time, clearly and distinctly, what it is that he finds fault with, and what there is which I impugn, which he is prepared to defend. I do not think that he will defend the omissions which I have shewn on the ground that they were fair abridgements, or indeed on any other ground.

There is, however, another species of abridgement, in which historians who have any party feeling (and how few histories have been written without it) are too apt to indulge, which seems to me to be unfair, and which, by the mere suppression of truth, amounts almost to the allegation of falsehood. It does not seem to me fair to tell (however truly) just that part of a story which suits one's own view of a disputed point, and to suppress the rest, if it has in the least degree a contrary bearing. I am not prepared to say to what extent Fox may have done this, for I have compared very few of his extracts with his authorities; and until the attempt was made to set him up as one who had made a searching scrutiny into parchment monuments about the Waldenses, I do not know that I had ever thought of looking out a reference. But I will mention an instance which then occurred, and which will illustrate my meaning. Fox says, in a paragraph immediately following that which I have before quoted about the Catini:—

believing that "in no single instance has he infringed upon the original intent and meaning of the author;" but he is mistaken in this, as he has sometimes been in supposing that he knew what the meaning of the author was.

"In like sort the Albigenes before mentioned, accounted also by the pope's flock to be heretics, with their bishops, and a great number and company of them, were slain by commandment of Pope Gregory IX., at the same time in a certain place in Spain." *Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 87.*

I do not know that there is anything here which can be said to be untrue. Perhaps it is not quite fair to represent them as slain by commandment of the Pope, as if some special order had been given in their case, while it does not appear that the Pope had ever heard of this particular business. Still they were slain by the Crusaders, to whom the Pope had given a general commission to suppress the Albigenian heresy, and it may be said that they were slain by commandment of the Pope. If there is anything like misrepresentation on this point, it arose, I believe, from Fox's not taking time and trouble fully to understand what he was translating. But a more important question is, why were these unoffending Albigenes slaughtered? Of course, merely because they were accounted by the Pope's flock to be heretics—why else are they put among the martyrs? Fox gives no authority but Matthew Paris, nor do I know that there is any; and how does he tell the story?

In this year, also, the Albigenian heretics in Spain, and that part of the country, so prevailed that, having ordained heretical bishops to preach their heresy, they boldly asserted that the Christian faith, and especially the mystery of the Incarnation, was a fond conceit, and to be altogether set aside. And collecting a numerous army, they entered the country of the Christians in a hostile manner, burning the churches, and slaughtering the Christians of either sex, and every age, without mercy. But this being at length made known, their heretical aggression was put down by the faithful Christians, who, at the command of Pope Gregory, had come as Crusaders from various parts of the West, for the defence of the Christian faith. In the spring the aforesaid heretics, with their bishops, were slain by them in a pitched battle, so that not one of them escaped. The Christians also taking possession of their cities, filled them with faithful Christians, and Catholic bishops having been ordained in them, the conquerors returned into their own country enriched and rejoicing.*

* "Hoc quoque anno hæretici Albigenes in partibus Hispaniæ et illis regionibus ita invaluerunt; ut ordinatis Episcopis hæreticis, qui suam prædicatorum abusum, assererant constanter fidem Christianam et præcipue incarnationis mysterium, frivolum esse, ac penitus abrogandum. Et congregantes exercitum copiosum, ingressi sunt hostiliter fines Christianorum comburentes

Of course no man is bound to believe Matthew Paris, and it is quite open to every one to oppose his statements, either by argument, or by testimony—but this is his account of the matter; and is it not somewhat different from what a reader of Fox would have imagined?

I know that each case of misstatement exposed may, by itself, seem trifling, and that the exposure leads to a great deal of tiresome petty criticism. It is easy to represent this as cavilling, and making much of trifles, (though that is, I believe, only done by those who are conscious that they cannot make any answer to the details) but the fact is, that it is only by a continual succession and reproduction of little suppressions, and omissions, and alterations, in ancient testimonies, that the popular delusion about the Waldenses and Albigenses is kept up. Some of these I have exposed, and more I hope to expose, being convinced that one of the most likely ways to lead men to sound and really useful knowledge respecting the History of the Church of Christ, is to shew them how grossly they are imposed on by popular statements.



ecclesias, et homines Christianos cujuscunque sexus vel ætatis immisericorditer trucidantes. Sed hoc tandem divulgato, compressa est eorum superstiosa præsumptio a fidelibus Christianis; qui ad mandatum Gregorii Papæ ex diversis regionibus Occidentis cruce signati advenerant ad defensionem fidei Christianæ. Perempti sunt autem ab eis in campestri prælio, tempore vernali cum suis Episcopis hæretici memorati; ita quod nec unus eorum evasit. Christiani quoque civitates eorum occupantes, repleverunt eas fidelibus Christianis; et ordinatis in eis Episcopis Catholicis, reversi sunt in patriam victores, ditati ac lætabundi. An. 1234. Vol. 1. p. 395.

